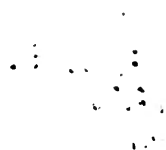




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SOLWAN;

OR,

WATERS OF COMFORT.



# SOLWAN;

OR,

## WATERS OF COMFORT.

BY IBN ZAFER,

A SICILIAN ARAB OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

BY MICHELE AMARI,

AUTHOR OF "THE WAR OF THE SICILIAN VESPERS," ETC.

AND RENDERED IN ENGLISH BY THE TRANSLATOR OF  
"THE SICILIAN VESPERS."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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# NOTICE.

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In offering to the public this new specimen of the literature of a nation associated in the minds of all with the popularity long enjoyed by the "Arabian Nights," we would observe, that, although the "Solwân" does not aspire to rival that celebrated compilation in brilliancy, it yet possesses over it the advantage of truth, both moral and historic; which may, we trust, recommend it to the favourable attention of those interested, as well in the history and manners, as in the graceful fictions of the East.

8 Apr. 60 Clin

1855 P. 201  
Gen. Rev. Fin



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## INTRODUCTION.



### § I.

THE Arabic work which I now offer to the English public may be considered under a twofold aspect, both philosophical and literary. As regards the former, the curiosity of the reader may well be excited by a treatise concerning the political conduct of sovereigns, written in Sicily in the twelfth century, under the rule of the early Norman kings, by an Arab and a Mahometan, native of the island, but learned in all the wisdom of his race, theology, philosophy, and morality. His interest will be increased when he perceives in the work, together with the principles of Islamism, those of a civilisation, of the high degree of which we are indeed aware, but of which very few relics have been handed down to us; namely, that of Persia, under the Sassanides. It is, moreover, worthy of note, that,

although composed under a system differing widely from that of the present day, the *Solvân* offers many profound views of policy, which are as applicable now as they would have been in the age of Tacitus or of Machiavel.

The work of Ibn Zafer appears to me of no less value in a literary point of view, for it offers, perhaps, the most ancient specimen in existence of the historical romance, together with a praiseworthy and by no means servile imitation of the Indian fables introduced into Europe by the Persians and Arabs, seven centuries before the study of Sanscrit had made us acquainted with the originals.

These considerations have induced me to believe, that a translation of the work in question might merit the indulgence of the English public, which has always displayed so great an interest in everything connected with the East. I have thought it desirable to prefix to the translation a historic, biographic, and bibliographic sketch; before entering upon which I have, however, to solicit the patience of the reader, whilst I give some account of the circumstances which led me to devote my attention to the writings of my Arab fellow-countryman of the twelfth century.

## § II.

My translation of the Solwân forms a portion only of a far more comprehensive undertaking, upon which I have now been occupied for several years. Having taken up my abode at Paris in 1842, in consequence of the persecution entailed upon me on the part of the Neapolitan Government, by the publication in Sicily of a historical work already known in England under the title of *The War of the Sicilian Vespers*, I sought to turn my exile to account by employing it in the compilation of a history of the Mussulmans in Sicily, a subject hitherto obscure, and imperfectly delineated, owing to the deficiency of materials for the purpose. The Canon di Gregorio did, indeed, publish at Palermo, in 1790, a volume in folio entitled, *Rerum Arabicum quæ ad Historiam Siculam spectant ampla Collectio*, which collection is, however, anything but ample or complete; and since its publication much additional light has been thrown upon the subject: amongst other things by the publication, in 1841, of a fragment of the history of Ibn Khaldun, together with a French translation, and a learned commentary, by M. Noël Des Vergers, which proved to me one of the strongest

inducements to search the records of the Saracen dominion in Sicily. I, however, at once perceived the impossibility of executing such a task without being able both to take a comprehensive view of the general history of the Arabs and of the principles and institutions of the faith of Islam, and to enter upon a minute examination of the unpublished Arabic manuscripts having reference to Sicily. For these purposes it was essential to obtain an acquaintance with the language and written character of the Arabs, as well as access to the principal collections of Arabic manuscripts; and this was an advantage not to be looked for in Sicily, or indeed anywhere in Italy, excepting in Rome, where an impassable barrier still guards from the curious eyes of the world the accumulated treasures of the Eternal City. The reverse of fortune which transplanted me to Paris, afforded me in compensation every facility for the prosecution of my purpose. Within a few weeks, I had undertaken the study of Arabic, which, after the lapse of some months, enabled me to commence my researches amongst the MSS. of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, with the assistance of my instructor, M. Reinaud, a Member of the Institute, and of Baron MacGuckin de Slane. at that period resident in Paris.



Under the guidance of these two learned orientalists, I published in the *Journal Asiatique* a few of the fragments which I collected by degrees ; and at the commencement of 1848, I had already sketched the outline of my history, from the first attacks of the Arabs upon Sicily, a province of the Byzantine Empire, to those of the Normans upon Sicily, a Saracen state ; so that I had only further to study the Norman conquest, the condition of the vanquished under the new monarchy, and the vicissitudes of fortune which they experienced until the last remnant of them was transplanted to Lucera, by the emperor, Frederick II., at the commencement of the thirteenth century. The materials had been collected by myself amongst the Arabic MSS. of Paris, Oxford, Leyden, and London, while for some additional contributions I was indebted to Dr. Dozy of Leyden, and other foreign orientalists, with whom I had entered into correspondence. I had not only corrected, by collation with the originals, the manifold errors of the geographical and historical works, as published by di Gregorio, but I had added to them in nearly the proportion of twenty to one. In fact, the Arabic authorities which I have in my possession, extracted from works of geography,

chronicles, and biographies, relating to Sicily and its Mussulman inhabitants, would be sufficient of themselves to fill a large quarto volume. They are, perhaps, as complete a collection as the libraries of Europe could furnish, and would form a fitting appendix to the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* of Muratori. I have, moreover, the materials for one or even two more volumes of poems, written by Sicilian Arabs, including two *divans*, as the complete works of a poet are called in Arabic. The prose works of Sicilian authors which I could not copy, I read, in order to be able to form a judgment concerning them, and also took extracts from them. Amongst them all, however, none pleased me better than the *Solwân*, and I therefore proposed to translate it into Italian, after the publication of my history, which was to have made its appearance in 1848.

The events of that year, however, recalled me to Sicily, and the offices entrusted to me both at home and abroad, put an end to my studies for the time. Being again driven into exile in 1849, I resumed them, and from circumstances, interesting only to myself, was induced to invert the order of my projected publications, and to offer the *Solwân* to the public before the history, to which I am now putting the finishing touches.

## § III.

To return to the work in question, and to the period of its composition. The Arabic nation having, in four hundred years, run through the whole cycle of its rise, its ascendancy, and its gradual decline, fell prostrate in the eleventh century, when we behold it trampled in the dust, and reduced once more to the condition of disunited tribes, in which it had existed from time immemorial, previous to the proclamation of the faith of Islam. The Prophet, who, by an almost miraculous effort of human genius and human will, had called this new power into existence, had, nevertheless, been unable to quench the antagonism of the two Arab races of Cahtan and Adnan, or to efface the distinction between the inhabitants of cities and the nomadic hordes, or Bedouins; and while seeking to destroy another, and far more obvious division, that which separated the nobles from the people, he thought to attain his end by withholding every shadow of privilege from the aristocracy, and inscribing in the book purporting to have descended from heaven, the absolute equality of the whole human race, with a trifling exception in favour of his own kindred. This new civil and religious code was, however,

## INTRODUCTION.

powerless to break the strong social bond by which the members of each tribe were united together, forming a league for the mutual protection of the individuals of a social body in a state of constant hostility against other similar bodies, which was equivalent, in fact, to a permanent military, and therefore aristocratic organisation. This aristocracy, ignored by the law, greatly increased its power by conquest, and not being able, in consequence of the immutability of Mussulman institutions, to assume a share in the government, it subdivided the territory. Other causes tended to the same result. Such were the ethnological and geographical divisions of the Arabic race, and of the other nations from beyond the Oxus to the Straits of Gibraltar, which it sought to incorporate with itself by the feeble link of a common faith; for although Mahomet, indeed, imitated and enforced the fraternal charity inculcated by the Christian religion, even this has been hitherto unable to silence national antagonism or social discord; the two hostile elements with which society is doomed to struggle. To the destroying forces already enumerated were added the reaction against civil and religious despotism, which began under the reign of the third Caliph, and finally led to the civil wars of the

Karmatians ; the error of the sovereign in calling in the aid of foreign arms ; the weakness inseparable from a government centred exclusively in the court ; the inefficiency of princes reared in its enervating atmosphere, and lastly, the fatal union of the civil and ecclesiastical power. The faith of Islam, grand and simple in its doctrines, and pure in its morality, notwithstanding the contrary belief entertained by those who have not studied it, is very defective in its discipline ; of which, one of the most dangerous features was the union of the pontifical and sovereign powers in the hand of the Caliph. This it was which prevented the reforms, both political and religious, which after the lapse of two centuries had become imperatively necessary ; and the consequence entailed was, in the first place, the corruption of the faith, and in the second, the destruction of the state. Hence, after the first flush of triumph had passed away, the vast Mussulman empire, over which the race of Ishmael had disseminated itself, fell to pieces, and its fragments were almost infinitesimally subdivided. The sceptre, already escaping from the grasp of the Arabs, was seized by nations of other origin ; in the East by the Turks, in the West by the Berbers, and, lastly, by the Christians also. This general overthrow was

consummated, in almost all parts of their dominion, in the 11th century of the Christian era.

Sicily, like a microcosm of the Mussulman world, having been conquered in the 9th century by the Arabs and Berbers, in the 10th separated itself from Africa, and in the 11th was broken up into three or four principalities, in the bosom of which worked and fermented the hostile elements of the Greek and Latin population and the Christian faith. It is, therefore, no marvel if, favoured by these divisions, the Italians, under the guidance of enterprising Norman leaders, obtained possession of the island towards the close of the century. The conquest of Sicily was achieved after a struggle of thirty years' duration. The Mussulman population, thinned first by civil war, then by the sword of the Christians, and always by emigration, was numerous and powerful still at the commencement of the Norman sovereignty, since Count Roger was able, in 1096, to lead twenty thousand Saracens to the siege of Amalfi. They inhabited chiefly the western half of the island, in which Palermo was included; nor is it improbable that they were there more numerous than the Christian inhabitants, a mixed multitude of Greeks, Italians, and Normans, consisting partly of the

ancient inhabitants, and partly of those who had immigrated at the time of the conquest: while, on the other hand, Christianity prevailed in the rest of the island. The Italian portion of the immigrants, designated as Lombards, occupied the centre of the island, or rather a strip of territory which, bounded on the one side by the mountains which overlook the sea towards the centre of the southern coast, extended to the foot of the chain which runs parallel to the northern sea-board, and, making a sharp angle towards the west, terminated on the brow of the heights commanding the western plains. Lastly, the Greek population occupied the eastern side of the island, which they did not vacate during the whole period of Mussulman supremacy, and clustered amidst the mountains of Messina, whence they spread themselves along the coast, as far as Cape Passaro on the one side, and Cefalù on the other. Such were, as I believe, the ethnological divisions of Sicily, when it once more became a member of the Italian family. Agriculture would seem to have prospered in the Mussulman and Greek portions of the island, where the land had never been left uncultivated, and no great changes had taken place. All the inhabitants appear

to have been addicted to commerce ; the Mussulmans alone to industry : the arts were cultivated by the Saracens and Greeks ; letters and science by the Saracens ; but in both letters and arts the influence of the baronage, or more properly of the French feudal system, soon became manifest. It assuredly prevailed in the organisation of the military force, many features of which, and more especially a corps of engineers, were, however, borrowed from the Saracens. The finance administration, on the other hand, appears to have remained very much what it was under the Emirs, with a few trifling reforms. For that of justice we find as many different codes of law and magistrates as there were different nations in the island. Lastly, at the head of a government, framed upon the feudal system, we find a court, of which the character was entirely Mussulman. The followers of Mahomet, whose numbers and influence in the island were still considerable, appear to me to have been divided into three classes : free citizens of towns ; serfs attached to the soil ; and allodial proprietors, whose lands had been preserved to them by treaty ; and amongst whom, if I am not mistaken, might be found a few nobles, whose jurisdiction much resembled that of feudal lords.



Sicily was thus divided between two distinct communities, the Christian and the Mussulman, which, being nearly equal in strength, could not long subsist together; and thus, a century had not elapsed before the Mussulmans were reduced to such straits that the more clear-sighted amongst them perceived that the faith of Islam would soon become extinct in the island; an opinion shared by the Spanish traveller Ibn Jobair (*Journal Asiatique*, 1846, vol. vii., p. 73 and 201, *seq.*). Tolerated at first of necessity by the conquerors, protected by the Norman kings, persecuted even to the death by the baronage and the clergy, the Mussulmans of Sicily were driven in despair to seek safety in emigration, towards the close of the reign of William the Good; and those unable to do so armed themselves for the final struggle, in which the greater number perished in less than thirty years.

If from the contemplation of the general condition of the island, we pass to that of its literature in particular, we shall see that the Saracen colony in Sicily—which, like that of Spain, passed over from Africa, but was founded later, destroyed earlier, and could not compete with it in splendour—nevertheless attained to a high

degree of civilisation. In its earlier days it could boast only of its colleges of civil law, of the verses of a few warrior poets, and of the biographies of some of the religious heroes of the period, of whom there were many, animated, as it appears, by that austere and martial virtue which distinguished the early ages of the faith of Islam. After the conquest was secured, and towards the end of the ninth century, this ardent zeal declined, and the literature of Sicily assumed a character more in accordance with the prosperous fortunes of the country. After a succession of revolutions repressed with fearful cruelty and the extirpation by an African governor, as he himself boasted, of at least six hundred thousand persons by famine and sword, reducing southern Sicily to a desert, the island at length detached itself from the African monarchy ; and science and letters flourished at the court of its Kelbite Princes, themselves of pure Arabic descent, as is proved by their name, derived from the tribe of Kelb to which they belonged. In the tenth century, we not only find amongst them cultivators and patrons of literature, who have bequeathed to us numerous fragments of poetry, but we behold public colleges opened at Palermo ; foreign men of letters

taking up their abode in the island; a Sicilian acquainted with the Greek language going to Spain to assist in the translation of the work of Dioscorides on botany; the study of grammar, poetry, philology and philosophy prosecuted in Sicily; while some dozen biographical sketches of that century, which have been preserved to us, are the first fruits of the literary history of the Sicilian Saracens. In the following century, which beheld the division of the island into petty states, and ended with foreign conquest, the literary movement received a fresh impulse, and extended itself more widely. Amongst the seventy names or so recorded in biographical dictionaries for this century, we find, together with numerous poets, those of physicians, jurists, and sacred and profane historians; men of letters from other Mussulman countries continued to visit Sicily, and learned Sicilians to quit the island, defiled by the presence of the infidels, to seek a refuge in foreign lands. Amongst the latter we find three memorable names. Ali Ibn Kata, (1041—1121) who witnessed all the sufferings of his native land, wrote an account of the Arab poets of Sicily, of which a part has been preserved to us in which he enumerates a hundred and

sixty, and a history of Sicily, which, with many of his other works has been lost ; Ibn Hamdis, who wrote a history of Algesiras, and having taken refuge at the court of the learned and valiant Motamid Ibn Abbad, displayed a character worthy of his genius, by showing himself one of the few friends of Motamid “and not of fortune,” who did not forsake him when deposed and made prisoner ; and El Mazari, so called from the place of his birth, the Val di Mazara, an eminent jurist, the author of various works, and preceptor of Mahadi, who founded the empire of the Almohades at Morocco.

In the twelfth century, while those of the Sicilian Mussulmans, whose principles were more rigid, sought a grave in distant lands, others less scrupulous did not scorn the favour of the Norman court, which sought to surround itself with a halo of science and literature, art and industry. Four Arabo-Sicilian poets celebrated the praises of King Roger in graceful lines, preserved in the general collection of the writings of contemporary Arab poets by Imad-eddin of Ispahan ; who, however, abridged them in some degree, not liking, as he says, to rehearse the praises of infidels. Nevertheless, this prince, being both a statesman and a

warrior, preferred men of science, physicians, mathematicians, and even astrologers, to poets, if we may believe the testimony of Ibn el Athir. Lastly, the best geographical work of the middle ages, namely, that of Edrisi, justly entitled “the Book of Roger,” has been handed down to us as a lasting memorial of his glory. Should we even interpret that, which the author writes in his preface concerning the king alone, as applying to that species of academy which was held in the palace, it will still prove that from the study of the statistics of the kingdom the court of Palermo went on to that of universal geography; and that, perceiving the insufficiency of the already existing works upon this subject, the king called an assembly of learned men, and for the space of fifteen consecutive years caused travellers to be examined, and their statistical and topographical statements to be collated, and at length entrusted the compilation and digestion of this accumulated mass of materials to Edrisi, at once a poet and a votary of science, born at Ceuta of the royal house of Beni Hamud, who, having been summoned to the court of Palermo, and overwhelmed with favours and distinctions, had doubtless borne an important part in their collection. When, by a rigid scrutiny, they had been fitted for application to scientific

geography as it was understood at that period, Edrisi began by causing an armillary sphere and planisphere of silver to be formed from a mass of metal given him for that purpose by the king. He then wrote the description of the different places mentioned, in Arabic, and dedicated the book to Roger, in the year 1154. It is difficult to conceive why the work was not translated into Greek, Latin, or French, unless it were that the king held the scientific acquirements of his Christian barons and courtiers in too much contempt to cast such pearls before them. An abstract, or rather a mutilation of this work has been published in Latin and Arabic, under the absurd title of *Geographia Nubiensis*, and with the omission of the most valuable portion, namely, the statistical records. Edrisi's own work has never seen the light, except through the medium of a few published fragments, and of an imperfect French translation, by M. Jaubert, in 1841; I have therefore transcribed from three different copies the whole of the part which treats of Sicily, and hope hereafter to publish it either in the original or in Italian. Edrisi subsequently published a second edition of this work, dedicated to William the Bad, which has been lost. (For further particulars concerning his writings, see

M. Reinaud's preface to the *Geography of Abulfeda*, and an article by Baron de Slane in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1841.)

Little else remains to be said concerning the literature of the Sicilian Saracens, which after the death of King Roger began to decline. An Arab poet, however, whom chance brought to Sicily in 1171, dedicated some verses to William the Good, who rewarded him liberally; and so late as 1182, the name of this prince was celebrated in some very indifferent lines, engraved on stone, in the castle of la Cuba, without the walls of Palermo, and published by me in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1850. The twelfth century contributes about forty names to the list of Arabo-Sicilian writers, amongst whom we find numerous exiles. These three centuries, therefore, afford us a hundred and twenty biographical sketches, and the titles of seventy works, not including the fragments of poetry, ten of which are now to be found in the libraries of Europe; while of nearly half the number, whether lost, or still extant, Ibn Zafer is the author.

## § IV.

Looking down with scorn upon the time-serving authors who crowded to the court of the infidels, Ibn Zafer, true to his race and to his faith, wandered about the world, maintaining himself by his writings—for it was always the custom of the Arabs to use great liberality towards poets and men of letters, who, likewise, frequently sought refuge in the colleges founded for public instruction, and occasionally obtained some profit by the public recitation of their works, as we learn from the writings of Hariri. Tedious though it be, I must begin the biography of Ibn Zafer with the enumeration of his names, which are legion. That given him at his birth or circumcision was Mohammad; to which, possibly on the birth of his eldest son, was added the surname of Abû Abdallah, “Father of Abdallah,” (or, according to others, Abû Hashem, for errors in transcribing surnames are of frequent occurrence.) Ibn Abi Mohammad, was his patronymic, properly so called; and that of his family was Ibn Zafer, “the Son of Victory,” or, more literally, of the art of seizing, for so it is explained by the biographer, Ibn Khallikan.



He was likewise known as Es-Sikilli, and El-Mekki, the Sicilian, or the Native of Mecca, names which we shall have to consider hereafter. Lastly, we find bestowed upon him the honorary appellation of Hojjet-Eddin, or "Demonstration of the Faith;" and, according to others, Shems-Eddin, or Jemal-Eddin, which signify sun, or ornament of the faith. And we likewise find appended to his name, the double title of Hojjet-el-Islam, and Borhan-Eddin, ("Demonstration of Islamism," and "Argument for the Faith,") or of Hojjet-Eddin and Jemal-el-Islam. Such were the high-sounding appellations bestowed upon every Mussulman distinguished either for power or wisdom, both of which were held in equal veneration amongst the Mahometans; and thus the luckless Sicilian wanderer, who earned a precarious livelihood as best he might, was hailed by titles as honourable as those of the sovereign princes, Saladin, Aladin, and Nur-Eddin, which signify Safeguard, Height, and Light of the Faith.

The epithets of Sicilian, and Native of Mecca, bestowed indiscriminately, or even conjointly, upon Ibn Zafer, have misled many of the learned as to his real birth-place. The authors of the *Universal History* (modern part, sect. lii.) maintain

that he could not have been born in Sicily, because the Saracens had been driven out of the island a century before, in pursuance of which untenable argument they turn a deaf ear to the testimony of Ibn Shohnah, quoted by themselves, who declares him to have been a native of Sicily. The same is affirmed by Ibn Khallikan, Cadi of Damascus, the great Arab biographer (1211—1282), who adds that he was educated at Mecca. Before this, the learned Imad-Eddin, of Ispahan, quoted above, (1125—1201) secretary of Nur-Eddin, and afterwards of Saladin, who was personally acquainted with Ibn Zafer, at Hamah, in Syria, called him a Sicilian, and wrote that he derived his origin (*asl*) from Mecca, but was a Magrebin, or occidental by birth, (*manshá*, the *patria* of the Latins), and domiciliated in Syria during the latter years of his life. Makrizi, an Egyptian historian (1365—1441) states him, in his biographical dictionary, to have been born in Sicily, adding in a marginal note to the MS., that he derived his origin from Mecca, was by birth a Magrebin, and had lived some time at Hamah; while, on the other hand, Soyuti, likewise an Egyptian and a man of great learning, in another biographical dictionary written in 1463, states him to have been of Sicilian origin, but born at

Mecca; to have gone in his childhood to Egypt, and thence proceeded into Africa Proper, to Mahdia, when he combated for the faith; and where he was when the town was taken by the Sicilians, in consequence of which he went to Sicily, then again to Egypt, and lastly to Syria. The testimony of Soyuti cannot, however, stand against so many opposing statements, especially if we consider the inconsistency of his assertions, both with the chronology of the Sicilian victories in Africa, and with that of the wanderings of Ibn Zafer, as revealed to us in his own writings.

These, and other considerations, appear to leave no doubt that Ibn Zafer was born in Sicily, whence he probably passed over into Africa, together with the many other Mussulmans who emigrated thither to avoid subjection to a Christian domination, the seductions of infidelity, and the painful companionship of renegades and temporisers; for at that time, namely, in the reign of King Roger, persecution had not yet begun. It is not improbable that Ibn Zafer may have fought on the coast of Africa against his Christian foes, and that he may either have been taken prisoner to Sicily, or have fled from the horrors of the

famine which about this period ravaged Africa Proper, compelling many of its inhabitants to beg their bread in Sicily, and affording the strongest encouragement to Roger to prosecute his enterprise. From these desolate regions, which could no longer afford support to literature, the exile, who had no other resource, appears to have proceeded to Egypt; Soyuti's assertion of Ibn Zafer's residence there being probably founded upon some of the literary histories of the country. His stay seems, however, to have been short; and, quitting the now feeble, poor, and divided province, governed by viziers in the name of the heretic Fatimites, he sought an asylum under the protection of the most renowned for virtue of all the Mussulman princes of that day, Mahmûd Ibn Zengui, surnamed Nur-Eddin, so famous in the history of the crusades. Of this we are informed by the author himself, in the preface to *Khâir-el-bishar*, which appears to have been the seventh of his works, and was undoubtedly of earlier date, by several years, than the *Solvân*. It was dedicated by Ibn Zafer to one who bore the surname of Safi-Eddin ("Purity of the Faith"), and was probably a man of distinction at the court of Nur-Eddin, under whose protection the

unfortunate author hoped, as we learn from the work itself, to find repose. Having said, in the beginning of his preface, that amidst all calamities of the times God never failed to raise up some of His elect servants, whose only care was to ransom prisoners, relieve the indigent, and perform acts of charity, and that amongst them the aforesaid Safi-Eddin held a distinguished place for the nobility of his birth and the greatness of his soul, he continues thus:—"Now flying from the remote regions of the west, I took refuge in the Nurian kingdom (that of Nur-Eddin), the brightness of whose glory is such as to confound all the princes of the east and west, whose warlike skill and valour envelope its enemies in the dust of destruction, since all the regions of the world are adorned with its writings, and all fortresses crumble away before its banners. . . . I had been plunged by destiny into the midst of such calamities as overwhelmed me with trouble, and caused me distinctly to behold the star Soha.\* But whilst I was losing the track of patience, and wandering about in perplexity, like a lean camel's foal when it is weaned, God,

\* "The faintest in the constellation of the Great Bear." The Arabs in their proverb place this star in contradistinction to the moon.

whose name be praised, using as His instrument my brother and friend in him, Safi-Eddin, has caused me to become like a well-fed steed, refreshed my eyes, given repose to my soul, and lodged me with a host whose generosity resembles that of Abû Dowad ; therefore am I minded to bestow upon him this book," &c.—(Paris MS., *Suppl. Arab.*, 586, p. 6.) This fragment needs no comment. I have only to add, that in speaking of the country he had quitted, the author, instead of employing the usual designation of "Magreb," meaning western land, or more particularly Northern Africa, designates it as "Magarib Kasiyah," (remote western lands,) which might comprise Western Africa, Sicily, and even Spain. His migration to the east, and the dedication of the *Khair-el-Bishar*, took place between 1146, the commencement of the reign of Nur-Eddin, at Aleppo (or rather 1149, when his power began to increase), and 1159, which is the date of the Solwân, a period perfectly corresponding with the calamities of Western Africa alluded to in the portion of the preface quoted above.

From some obscure expressions in an edition of the Solwân, considerably anterior to that dedicated in Sicily to Ibn Abi 'l Kasim, we gather that Ibn

Zafer soon quitted his asylum at the court of Nur-Eddin. The catalogue of his writings, published before the Solwân, which we find at the end of that work, enables us here to correct an anachronism of Soyuti, who states that our author, having returned to Egypt from Sicily, where he composed his book, went thence to Aleppo, and was received into the Madresa, or College of Ibn Abi A'srun, where he wrote a commentary on the Koran; but, in a popular tumult, the Schiites of Aleppo (who were there in great force, and ill-disposed towards the orthodox portion of the population favoured by Nur-Eddin) destroyed the books of Ibn Zafer, who thereupon departed to Hamah. This is evidently an error, for in the aforesaid catalogue Ibn Zafer mentions a commentary on the Koran, and complains "that he had lost the greater part of these his works plundered by the rebels" (see § v. of the present Introduction); whence it appears that this misfortune occurred previously to the composition of the Solwân, on the return of the author to Sicily. It was assuredly also before this that he visited the court of the king (Malik), to whom he dedicated that first edition, and who was assuredly not the

dreaded conqueror of Syria, but rather some one of the numerous petty princes whose tottering thrones rose and fell so rapidly at the period of the dissolution of the Mussulman Empire. Difficult as it is to discover the identity of this anonymous king, it appears to me that the particulars recorded in the preface might well refer to Mojir-Eddin, lord of Damascus, who was expelled by Nur-Eddin in 1154, in consequence of a conspiracy concerted with his subjects under the mask of pretended friendship. It would thus be easy to understand that Ibn Zafer, having uttered many reproaches against the conqueror from the court of Damascus, could no longer remain in Syria, of which nearly the whole was subject to him. It was therefore natural that he should return to Sicily, where he might hope to obtain some assistance from his kindred, and where, moreover, the death of Roger (in the same year, 1154,) had materially altered the condition of the country ; for it appears that under the reign of William the Bad, there was considerable agitation amongst the Mussulman portion of the population, who were preparing for a struggle, to which they were doubtless encouraged by the victories of the Moslems in



Africa and Syria, the divisions of the Christians in Sicily, the perfidy of the Prime Minister Maio, and the influence of the eunuchs of the court, who, from having been the favourites under Roger, had now become the masters of the sovereign. We might even go so far as to suspect an allusion to regal ambition in the dedication of the second edition of the *Solwân*, where, besides the wish for the success of Ibn Abi 'l Kasim in the enterprises, "which God himself had prompted him to undertake," the author praises in him, "the firmness of his sway," which is such, "that the people under his guidance need fear no calamity;" expressions exceeding the limits of the adulation which might be bestowed upon a private individual.

The said Ibn Abi 'l Kasim was descended from the daughter of the Prophet, and from Ali the Great, through one Edris, who, having escaped from the repeated massacres of his race, founded the principality of Fez, in the second century after the Hegira. When, however, the sovereignty had been wrested from the house of Edris, and its members had become wanderers amongst the Berber tribes, it came to pass that Ali and Kasim, sons of an Edrisite, by name Hamud, became

governors, the one of Ceuta and Tangier, the other of Malaga and Algesiras, at the time of the fall of the Ommeyad dynasty in Spain; and being of illustrious birth and great valour, succeeded in obtaining possession for a short time of the throne of the Caliphs of Cordova, upon the overthrow of which the Edrisites eventually retained a fragment of territory, under the name of the Kingdom of Malaga. Driven from thence, in the latter part of the same century, they remained in Tangier and Ceuta and the surrounding country, unmolested, because inoffensive or despised, by the reigning house of the Almoravides. It appears that, in the meanwhile, a branch of the family came to seek their fortune in Sicily, amidst the confusion which followed upon the first victories of Count Roger, and occupied the towns of Girgenti and Castro-Giovanni. Their patronymic, which we do not find amongst the petty princes of the island before the coming of the Normans, is recognisable in that of Chamut of Malaterra, which exactly renders the pronunciation of the Arabic word, Hamud. In the year 1087, Chamut surrendered these two cities to Count Roger, embraced Christianity, and accepted a fief near Mileto, in Calabria, from the victor. One "Eseriph essachali," or Sicilian

sheriff of Mazara, deputed by the citizens to Count Roger to obtain for them terms of capitulation, though he was not, as Leo the African supposes, the author of the celebrated geography, appears to have belonged to this family. The geographer Edrisi, certainly did; for the Edrisites, as we have said, were a branch of the house of Ali; and the Beni Hamud, so called from the name of the father of the two Caliphs of Cordova, were a branch of the Edrisites. Considerable possessions having remained in the hands of those amongst them, who, like Chamut, adhered to the faith of Islam, the family retained great credit and influence both with the court and people; as even in the civil dissensions of our own times, we find individuals who retain the respect of all parties. Such appears to have been the case with Abû Abdallah, Mohammad Ibn Abi 'l Kasim Ibn Ali, of the house of Ali and tribe of Koreish, to whom, as we learn from all the authors who make mention of the work, Ibn Zafer dedicated a second edition of the *Solwân*, in 1159; after having already inscribed to him three previous works, as he himself states in the preface, as a mark of his gratitude for the munificence with which the illustrious Sicilian had succoured him in his adversity.

We know nothing more concerning the person thus designated by Ibn Zafer, but we have many notices of others of his family, or possibly of himself under another name. Hugo Falcandus relates that a few years later, namely, at the commencement of the reign of William the Good, about 1168, Bulcasimus (Abû 'l Kasim) one of the noblest and most powerful of the Sicilian Arabs, after lavishing much seeming affection and many gifts upon the great Chancellor of the Kingdom (Stephen des Rotrou, brother to the Count of Perche, who came to Sicily with Peter of Blois), stirred up the hatred of the Mussulmans against him, in resentment of the intimacy he had contracted with another wealthy Saracen, against whom Abû 'l Kasim bore a private grudge. We learn, moreover, from Arabic biographers, that in the same year, 1168, an Arab poet from Alexandria, surnamed Ibn Kalakis, having arrived in Sicily, the munificence shown him by Abû 'l Kasim equalled that of King William, or possibly even surpassed it, since Ibn Kalakis dedicated only a short poem to the king, while for his other patron he wrote a book entitled *El Zahr, el Basim, fi' Ausaf Abi 'l Kasim* (the Flower that smiles upon the Virtues of Abû 'l Kasim). Ibn Khallikan

and Haji Khalfa add that Abû 'l Kasim was one of the *kaïds* of the island, and surnamed Ibn el Hajiar, or the "Son of Stone," probably in allusion to his generosity, as water, the daughter of the rock, is the symbol of this virtue amongst the Arabs (*vide* Ibn Khallikan, MS. Biographical Dictionary of Paris, *Suppl. Arab.*, 504, fol. 209, 242; Haji Khalfa, edit. Flügel, vol. iii., p. 545, n. 6680). This generous Mussulman had not ceased to merit the surname of Ibn el Hajiar, when, in February, 1185, he met at Trapani the Spanish traveller Ibn Jobair; but the fines, sequestrations, etc., with which the Sicilian Christians were wont in those days to oppress the Mussulmans, had dried up the sources of his munificence. Ibn Jobair calls him a chief and lord of the Sicilian Saracens, one of the nobles of the island, whose authority descended from father to son by the right of primogeniture. The same author informs us that Ibn el Hajiar had been accused of intriguing with the Almohades, who had conquered Spain as well as the cities of Africa, previously subdued by the Normans of Sicily; that before this accusation he had possessed many houses and farms, and that his whole family had been wealthy and powerful, for the traveller had himself seen in

Palermo many splendid palaces belonging to the Beni Hamud (see *Journal Asiatique*, tom. vii. 1846, p. 203, *seq*). The Abû 'l Kasim of Hugo Falcandus, Ibn Kalakis, and Ibn Jobair, was doubtless the same person, and if not the patron of Ibn Zafer himself, at least one of the same family, especially as it seems likely that Abû 'l Kasim was not, properly speaking, the name of a person living at that time, but of the common ancestor of the family; probably of that very Ibn Hamud who was the father of El Kasim, Caliph of Cordova. Thus, the correct name of the individual might be that written in the dedication of Ibn Zafer, while he might yet be popularly known as Abû 'l Kasim.

Turning now from the patron to the *protégé*, little remains to be added concerning him. He lived on in toil and indigence until 1170, or, according to others, 1172. He appears to have quitted Sicily soon after the date of the dedication of the Solwân; in which work, beneath the stoical resignation of fatalism, and the customary exaggerated praise of his patron, is discovered an independent spirit, coupled with very decided opinions as to the mutual assistance which men owe to each other, the limits of gratitude, and other

subjects, on which the vagrant author and the wealthy descendant of Ali could scarcely be expected to agree. It is therefore probable that the brotherhood upon which Ibn Zafer congratulated himself ended as do so many in this world. The penniless brother again resuming his wanderings, returned once more to Egypt, and went to Hamah, where he was well received, had a pension conferred upon him, and composed other works. The pension, however, appears to have been so scanty that, being unable to maintain his daughter, he consented to give her in marriage to a man of inferior station, which amongst the Mussulmans was accounted a sin. If such it were, the punishment overtook him even in this world, his worthless son-in-law having taken his wife to another country, and there sold her as a slave. It was at Hamah that Ibn Zafer died, overwhelmed, perhaps, by this last blow. It seems probable that he was born at the commencement of the twelfth century, since in 1159 he had already composed twenty-two works, some of which were of importance. He was, according to Ibn Khallikan, short of stature, misshapen and ill-favoured. Fortune heaped upon him all her curses, and it would be hard to say whether it

were to alleviate his misfortunes or to quicken his sense of them, that she bestowed upon him the gifts of a philosophical turn of mind, a lively imagination, and profound learning; all of which serve to stimulate the pride of man, and therefore cause him to feel the more acutely his personal deficiencies, even while they enable him to bear them with fortitude, or to rise superior to the trial.

All the Arab critics are agreed in praising the talents of Ibn Zafer. His contemporary Imad-Eddin designates him as “the Imaum of his age, for his learning and ability in the interpretation of the Koran; a mighty genius, who far exceeded his contemporaries in the study of the (moral) sciences; the author of many beautiful compositions and compilations, so that those who sought to slake their thirst at the spring (of his wisdom) could no longer withdraw themselves from it;” and, continues Imad-Eddin, “when I beheld him in the academic contests at Hamah, the lovers of learning hung in amazement upon his words. One of his many works is the *Solwân el Mota'*, which I have read with attention, and have found to be a very useful work, combining the beauty of thought with that of diction,



that of moral warning with that of instruction." Imad-Eddin, moreover, inserted into his anthology of contemporary poets nearly all the poems of Ibn Zafer which we find in the Solwân, together with much of his rhyming prose.

A century later, we find Ibn Khallikan, less prone to exaggeration, less apt to be led astray by the seductions of rhyme, and who had been nurtured in the arid historic school of Ibn el Athir, still numbering our author amongst the greatest of the Mussulman writers, designating his compositions as elegant and lively, quoting some fine verses written by him, and which were to be met with in many collections of poetry ; and, lastly, relating concerning him the following anecdote, which goes to prove that men of letters had in no degree changed in character since the days of Horace and his predecessors. It should be premised that in the twelfth century zeal for correctness of language was carried to an exaggerated pitch by the Arabic writers, and grammarians and philologists were as numerous and as eager in their contests as were those of Italy at the period of the decay of her literature. Hariri had published his works, amongst which, besides *The Sessions*, a species of Decameron remarkable for the brilliancy of its style, was a philological book, to

which Ibn Zafer had replied. In the midst of these contentions, then considered of no trifling importance, it came to pass that one Taj-Eddin (Crown of the Faith) el Kendi, having obtained a pension from the treasury of Hamah, took up his abode in that city during the residence there of Ibn Zafer, and being present with him at an academic session, the two authors began to contend together. "While we were thus disputing," writes Taj-Eddin, "I propounded to him some difficult questions in grammar, which he was unable to solve, and in questions of philology nearly the same thing was the case. When the meeting was about to break up, Ibn Zafer exclaimed, 'The Doctor Taj-Eddin excels me in knowledge of grammar, and I excel him in philology.' 'By my faith,' replied I, 'I admit the first proposition, but deny the second.' And thereupon we separated." Ibn Khallikan adds nothing further on the subject of this anecdote, which is the more curious, as it appears that Ibn Zafer, although writing with great correctness, had never entered very deeply into the intricacies of grammar; and in the three of his works which I have read, philological notes are constantly recurring, while I do not recollect a single grammatical observation. Lastly, we must not pass over the testimony of

Sherishi, one of the commentators of Hariri, referred to by M. de Sacy in his edition of the writings of this Arab Boccaccio. In quoting the works of which he had made use, Sherishi places that of our author at the head of the list; adding that he had “borrowed much from the works of Ibn Zafer, the Sicilian, author of the *Solwân el Mota*’, who died at Hamah in 565.—(See M. de Sacy’s Arabic Preface, vol. i., p. 5, of the New Edition of Hariri. Paris, 1847.) Under the sanction of these competent judges, I need not hesitate to express my opinion concerning Ibn Zafer, founded on the study of his writings, of the biographical notices concerning him, and of the aforesaid catalogue of his works, and to repeat, in the words of Imad-Eddin, that I am astonished at the extent of his erudition. He appears to have cultivated almost every branch of learning; the sacred and profane history of the Arabs, including the enormous mass of traditions of the Prophet; the sacred writings of the Jews and of the Christians, and even the lives of Christian saints; the history and literature of the Persians under the Sassanides; that portion of the literature of India which had obtained a footing in Persia; besides theology, civil law, moral philosophy,

philology, and the belles lettres. In the publication of his works, he appears to have followed the order in which learning developed itself amongst the Arabs. The first rude followers of Mahomet had no higher ambition than to repeat the Koran—the divine, uncreated word. Their successors learned by heart the traditions of Mahomet, which served as a commentary upon it; then, aided by the lights derived from other nations, the learned organised a system of theology and civil government, deduced from these two sources, and interpreted the Koran and the traditions by the assistance of philology, based upon the writings of the classic Arab authors (namely, the poets who flourished before the era of Islamism) of grammar, which they constructed in imitation of that of the Greeks, and of logic and metaphysics, which they received from them. They applied mathematics to the compilation of almanacks, and the theory of fractions to the division of property, until, as civilisation advanced, the exact and moral sciences attained to a high degree of perfection; the natural sciences began to excite attention; a wider field was opened to literature; and, in short, every branch of human lore was explored and cultivated. The

education of youth was conducted in the same order. It was begun by implanting in the mind of the child the sacred precepts of the Koran and of tradition; it proceeded to accustom his mind to their interpretation, and to the deductions to be drawn from them; and finally gave access to all other branches of study, as we perceive from the learned observations of Haji Khalfa, and those of the Baron de Slane, in his introductions to the two volumes already published of his English version of Ibn Khallikan. Our author, as we find from the catalogue of his works, which is undoubtedly chronological, commenced with a ponderous work on the interpretation of the Koran; then proceeded to a philological work, likewise on the Koran; after which, he went on to treatises on civil law, theology, and sacred history, biographies, works on grammar and philology, moral and political philosophy (in the *Solwân*); until, at length, urged by the pressure of poverty, and no longer finding patrons to support him and afford him leisure for the composition of works of so high an order, he had recourse to compendiums and compilations, and ended by the composition in the Moslem colleges of some works which appear to have been destined for the instruction of youth.

Happily, those of the works of Ibn Zafer which have been preserved to us, are by far the most important to orientalist of the present day, and by these we are enabled to judge of him. If he did not give to the world many new ideas, he at least knew how skilfully to embody those which he had acquired, and to set them forth in graceful order, recommended by ease and purity of diction, notwithstanding the decay of Arabic literature at the period in which he lived. His views of moral philosophy are assuredly far more than a mere *réchauffé* of the thoughts of others. He has, moreover, the merit of having preserved many curious traditions, which, without his intervention, would have been lost to us; and he fills an honourable place in the list of writers of moral tales, as is proved by the subjoined catalogue of his works.

The above sketch of the life of Ibn Zafer is derived from the following sources:—(1.) Notice by Imad-Eddin, of Ispahan, Paris, MS., *Ancien Fonds Arabe*, 1414, fol. 248, recto, *seqq.* (2.) *Ibn Khalikan*, Arabic text, Paris edition, vol. i., p. 734; and English version by M. de Slane (not yet published), vol. iii., p. 106. (3.) *Makrizi*, Arabic MS. at Leyden, vol. iii. (4.) *Soyuti*, Arabic

MS. of Dr. John Lee, and one recently acquired by the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, *Suppl. Arab.* 683. (5.) Haji Khalfa's *Biographical Dictionary*, edit. Flügel, vol. iii., p. 205, 4947, p. 611, 7227, &c. (6.) *Khair-el-bishar*, Paris, MS. *loc. cit.*

## § V.

Of the works of Ibn Zafer, we have a catalogue, written by the author about 1150, and annexed to the first edition of the *Solwân*. To it must be added the four dedicated to Ibn Abû'l Kasim, which he appended to the list in 1159, and those mentioned in the various biographical notices concerning him. The first authentic catalogue is to be found at the end of the *Solwân* in the Paris MS., *Suppl. Arab.*, 536, and is to this effect :—

“The author—may God forgive him—says: I have already, praise be to God, concluded this my book, and have completed it, and brought it to the limit which I had proposed to myself. Now, as it is about to go forth from my desk, and fall into the hands of the rehearsers (*rowâh*), who will receive it from me, and as it is the last of my books, of those, namely, which are mine by composition (*tasnif*) and by writing (*talif*), in which I have

endeavoured to collect *the treasures of science*, and to admonish *the reader*, it is meet that I conclude it with a record of the titles and subject-matter of the said books, although the unrighteous have plundered not a few of the works thus recorded.

1. The first and best of the said books is entitled, *Yanbú' el-Haiáh fí Tafsír ed-Dikr el-Hakim* (the Source of Life in the Explanation of the wise Record, *the Koran*). Of this, there are two different MSS. ; yet I mention them as one, because the second takes the place of the first, of which I was robbed, and which is diligently sought, but hard to find.

2. The book entitled, *Fawá'id el-Wahá el-Mojaz ilá fará'id el-Wahá el-Mojiz*—(Short and useful Hints for the *comprehension* of the *philological* Gems of the miraculous Revelation). This book treats of the special significations of the names of God selected from the book *El-Ishtirák el-Loghawi wa 'l-Ishtibáh el Ma'nawi* (Community of Form and Similarity of Signification) ; as, for example, the words “Karîm” and “A'zîm,” which resemble one another neither in the structure of the word nor in the sense. It likewise treats of the difference between the words “Rahman” and “Rahîm,”



being the same as that between “Khabîr” and “A’lim.” In this work I have treated exclusively of the words used in the Koran, regardless of those to be found in the traditions of the Prophet.

3. The book entitled, *El-Masnî* (the Watered Field), a work on jurisprudence of the school of the Imaum Malik Ibn Anas. Every query is here placed in juxtaposition to the arguments which solve it.

4. The book entitled, *El-Tashjîr* (the Ramification), a theological work.

5. The dogmatic work entitled, *El-Mo’âdât* (the Hallowed Spots), which is replete with wholesome arguments, and elucidations that remove every doubt.

6. The book entitled, *Mo’âtibah el-Jarî a’lá Mo’âkibah el-Barî* (Reproof to the bold Man who condemns the Innocent), a theological work.

7. The book entitled, *Khaîr el-Bishar bi Khaîr el-Bashar* (the best Announcement concerning the best of Mortals). I have inserted into this work all the notices concerning the mission of our elect Lord Mahomet, and have divided them into four parts. (1.) Those supplied by irrefragable authority in the sacred writings. . . . .  
(3.) Those handed down to us by the tongues of

soothsayers. (4.) Those transmitted to us by the voices of the Genii.\*

8. The book entitled, *Anbâ Nojabâ 'l-Ebnâ* (Notices of remarkable Children).†

9. The book entitled, *Milhel-Loghah* (Salts of Philology); in which are enumerated the words which are similar in form and different in signification. They are arranged in alphabetical order.

10. The book entitled, *Es-Safr* (the Way), in which are explained the choice and unusual expressions, and the proverbs, whether in common use or otherwise, which are to be found in the Academic Sessions of Hariri.

11. The book entitled, *En-Nakîb a'mmâ fî'l-Mekâmât min el-Gharîb* (the Scrutiniser of the choice Expressions in the Sessions of Hariri).

12. The book entitled, *Awhâm el-Ghawwâs fî Ittihâm el-Khawwâs* (Errors of the Diver in attributing Error to the chief Grammarians); which is

\* In the MS. of the Solwân, from which this catalogue is taken, the title of the second chapter, containing the notices quoted from the Doctors, is omitted. A MS. of this work exists at Paris, *Suppl. Arab.*, 586, and a fragment of it is to be found in the Bodleian, as indicated in the catalogue of Ury, p. 181, n. 833. "2. *Tractatus de rebus ad Mohammedem pertinentibus.*"

† The Paris library contains two MSS. of this work. *Suppl. Arab.*, 486-7.

an exposition of the errors committed by Mohammad Hariri in his work entitled, *Dorreh el ghawwâs fî Awhâm el-Khawwâs* (Peril of the Diver who seeks the errors of the chief Philologists).

13. The book entitled, *Kashf el-Kashf* (Unmasking of the Unmasking), which is the confutation of the book entitled *El-Kashf wa 'l-Inbâ min el-Kitâb el Mosammâ bi 'l-Ihîâ* (Unmasking and warning against the Book entitled Revival), meaning the revival of the sacred sciences.

14. The compendium entitled, *El-Kawâ'id wa'l biân fî 'n-nawi* (the Basis and Explanation of Grammar).

15. A didactic poem. *Fî 'l-Farâ'idh wa 'l-Walâ* (on Division of hereditary Property and Clientship).\*

16. The book entitled, *El-Khowad el-Wâkiah wa 'l O'wad el-Rakiah* (Helmets of Security, and Amulets of Enchantment) ; a moral work.

17. The book entitled, *Riâdh el-Dikrá*, (Gardens of Admonition).

18. The book entitled, *El-Nasâih* (the Good Counsels).

\* A poem in *ragiz* verse, which was habitually used for didactic poetry. For the word here rendered clientship, see note 35 to chap. i., and 13 to chap. v.

19. The book entitled, *Málek el-Idkâr* (the Angel of Warning), a moral work.\*

Here ends the catalogue. In the preface to the second edition of the *Solwân* we find the titles of the three following works:—

20. *Asâlib el-Ghâiah fî Ihkâm aïah* (Paths which conduct to the Goal of the correct Explanation of a verse,—of the *Kcran*); quoted by Soyuti and Makrizi.

21. *El-Mosanni li istishfâf el-Mau'nah wa'l-Ishrâf* (Guide to the perfect Knowledge of the *mau'nah* and *ishrâf*): Paris MSS. *Suppl. Arab.*, 538, 539, 1535. The word *Mosanni* signifies properly one who facilitates; it might also mean, one who waters with a water-wheel. It is impossible to judge by the title whether this be a work on jurisprudence or philology, and Haji Khalfa affords us no assistance.

22. *Dorer el-Ghorer* (Frontal Pearls), literally pearls for that part of the forehead which is called

\* In order to make this catalogue as perfect as possible, I have not only collated together the various manuscripts of the *Solwân* which have come within my reach, but have also compared them with the lists of the works of our author given by Haji Khalfa, Makrizi, Ibn Khallikan, and Soyuti, between all of which there exist variations, although for the most part of very slight importance.

“*ghorreh*,” the singular of “*ghorer*.” The author himself explains the word in the *Anbâ nojabâ 'l-Ebnâ*. (Paris MS., *Suppl. Arab.*, 486, fol. 44). “*Ghorer*,” says he, “are the fine hairs on the anterior portion of the head, above the middle of the forehead. The same name is given to that portion of the scalp which projects between the two ‘*naza'h*,’ or hairless sinuosities on both sides of the forehead.” There is a copy of this work in the library of Gotha, but the title *Dorez el Karer*, rendered, *Margaritæ frigidæ*, by Dr. Möller, in his catalogue (*Gotha* 4to., p. 14, n. 72) is doubtless an error.

23. Here should come, in order of time, the *Solwân*, which closes the authentic catalogue. The following titles of works are extracted from various biographies, and have therefore no claim to chronological arrangement :—

24. *El-Ishrâk el-Loghewî wa 'l-Istinbât el-Ma'newî* (Philological Connection, and Method of deducing the sense from the Root). This work seems to be different from n. 2. in the author's catalogue, (Haji Khalfa, edit. Flügel, vol. i. p. 314, n. 777, and MS. of Makrizi). It is mentioned by Soyuti, with the variation of “*El-mau'ni*.”

25. *A'lâm ew-Nobowwah* (Evidences of the Pro-

phetic Mission), Haji Khalfa. edit. Flügel, vol. i., p. 361, n. 944.

26. *Iksîr Kîmîâ el-Tafsîr* (Elixir of the Alchemy of Explanation—*of the Koran*). It is needless to observe that our substantive, elixir, is simply the Arabic word, with the addition of the article; alchemy, similarly derived from the Arabic, signifies also “the rare art,” as it does in the present instance. MS. of Makrizi—erroneously given in Soyuti.

27. *El-Jannah fî I'tikâd ahl el-Sunnah* (Paradise in the creed of the Sunnites—or orthodox Mussulmans). MS. of Makrizi.

28. *Kitâb el-Borhâniyah fî shirh el-Esmâ el-Hosnâ* (Book of the Arguments concerning the Interpretations of the mighty Names—*of God*). MS. of Makrizi.

29. *Kitâb el-Ishârah ilâ ʿilm el-Îbârah* (Book which sets forth the Science of Interpretation). Idem.

30. *El-Jawd el-Wâsib* (the Continual Rain). Idem.

31. *El-Tafsîr el-Kabîr* (the great literal Commentary—*on the Koran*); Haji Khalfa, edit. Flügel, vol. ii., p. 348, n. 3173; quoted likewise by Soyuti! both represent it as a different work

from No. 1 of the catalogue. It is, perhaps, one of the two compilations of which the author there makes mention.

32. *Nojob el-Amthâl* (Select Proverbs). Quoted by Frëytag in his collection of Arabic proverbs. (*Bonnæ ad Rhenum*, 1838—43, 3 vols. 8vo.) and attributed by him to one Abû Abdallah Thafer Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Alzakbali, who died in 565, and who is doubtless the same Ibn Zafer, although his name be somewhat transmogrified. For "Alzakbali," which means nothing, the addition of a diacritical point to the letter *b*, which changes it into *î*, gives us "Alzikili," which we should write "es-sikilli." Another point should be added to the first letter of the distinctive name, Thafer, which being thus converted into a Z, would give the exact name of our author.

#### § VI.

It now remains for us to give a slight sketch of the subject-matter of the four works which alone, of the thirty-two enumerated above, exist in Europe. The first of these is the *Khaïr-el-bishar*, of which the only perfect copy is the one at Paris, a handsome volume of 184 pages in 4to.,

transcribed on oriental paper in fair and legible *neskhi*\* characters, in the month of Ramadan, 724, (A.D. 1304.) I have already noticed the dedication and preface in § iv; the work itself is a collection of predictions concerning the prophetic mission of Mahomet, divided into four classes according to the sources from whence they are derived. (1.) Those contained in the sacred writings of undoubted authenticity, anterior to the Koran. (2.) Those resting on the authority of commentators and doctors, who were not Mussulmans. (3.) The sayings of the *cahins*, or sooth-sayers. (4.) The sayings of the *genii* communicated to the earlier Mussulmans. Much erudition is brought to bear upon the subject in the first two chapters, in which the Pentateuch, the Psalms of David, the Prophecy of Ezekiel, and the Gospels, with the opinions of the commentators, are quoted at every step. The author repeatedly subjects both the original and Syriac versions of the Old Testament to a strict investigation. He gives a historical account of its transmission, and notes the passages which, according to the belief of the Mussulmans, have

\* Modern or running character; that now in use amongst the Eastern Arabs.



been tampered with, in order to the suppression of sayings having obvious reference to Mahomet. Ibn Zafer is equally explicit, though less diffuse, in treating of the New Testament and of the prophecy concerning the Paraclete, under which name, according to the Mussulmans, Mahomet is indicated. He likewise notices the variations in the narratives of the four Evangelists, who, according to Ibn Zafer, wrote after the Ascension of the Messiah, each one transmitting the instructions of his Lord to that people to whom his preaching was addressed. This book affords manifest proof that Ibn Zafer was well versed not only in the sacred history of Islam including the traditions of the Prophet, but also in that of the Israelites and Christians—as well as, perhaps, in the Hebrew, and, doubtless, in the Syriac language. Historians may find matter for consideration in the many anecdotes, in Chap. III., concerning the ages anterior to Islam and the Arabian soothsayers; and in Chap. IV., concerning the pretended revelations of the genii to the earlier Mussulmans. Lastly, oriental philologists may study with advantage the Sybilline language ascribed by Ibn Zafer to the soothsayers, and the numerous lexicographical notes dispersed throughout the volume.

## § VII.

A work of more interest, probably, at the present day, is the *Anbá Nojabá 'l-Ebná*, a biographical selection, resembling that which figures in European literature under the title of *Enfants Célèbres*. Of this there exist two MSS. at Paris. The purpose of the work, as stated by the author in the preface, was to encourage youth by the contemplation of noble examples, and to stimulate their intellectual powers. It is divided into six chapters, of which the first, entitled: *The Only and Solitary Gem*, contains a long series of anecdotes concerning the childhood of Mahomet. The other four treat of precocious children.

- (1.) Amongst the companions of the prophet.
- (2.) Amongst the sons of such companions.
- (3.) Amongst the Mussulmans, who in subsequent ages were distinguished for piety and for the austerity of their lives.
- (4.) Amongst the Arabs before the era of Islamism, and amongst the Persian kings.

The *Anbá* is, in short, a collection of examples of extraordinary memory, or precocious sagacity, and of supernatural instances of the gift of prophecy, predestination to sovereign power, sanctity, &c., which might be of

great value to any one employed upon the history of the Arabs or Sassanides, or in the study of Arabic philosophy. Such is the opinion of the learned Baron de Slane, in his notes to the biography of Ibn Zafer, quoted above.

The *Dorer el-Ghorer* requires no further comment, being merely an abstract of the *Anbâ*.

#### § VIII.

The *Solwân* was, as might be expected, the one of Ibn Zafer's works which obtained by far the greatest degree of popular celebrity, chiefly because in it the author chose another path from that habitually trodden by the Muslim and Christian writers of the middle ages, and skilfully engrafted a branch of foreign growth upon the original stock of Arabic literature. This will be sufficiently exemplified by a brief analysis of the work, in which the author seeks to point out the course of conduct to be pursued by sovereigns in the vicissitudes of their fortunes, and which he classifies, with philosophic ingenuity, under five heads. (1.) To trust in God, that is to advance resolutely towards the goal if the cause be just, and to abandon

the design if it be unjust. (2.) To hold on their way with fortitude until the tempest be overpast. (3.) To persevere. (4.) To submit to the will of God should the issue prove unfortunate. (5.) To consider the vanity of earthly power, and to lay it aside if it prove too heavy a burden. Such counsels are perfectly consistent with the doctrines of Islam, and are at the same time applicable to all ages and creeds, being based upon a profound and philosophic knowledge of human nature.

If we now proceed to consider our author's method of treating his subject, we shall perceive it to be at once synthetic and analytic. For he commences with precepts of the Koran and sage maxims of Mahomet and others, and then goes on to illustrate their application by narratives of real or supposed events, or by that mixture of truth and fiction so common in these days under the name of historical romance. The analytic portion of the work is the principal one, as stated in his preface by Ibn Zafer himself, who appears to have been scarcely aware of the value of the religious and philosophic abstract prefixed to each series of tales.

We find in the synthetic portion of the *Solwán*,

together with many quotations from Mahomet and the most illustrious of his followers, anonymous philosophers probably Persian, and Arab poets, a few wise sayings attributed to the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanides, one to St. Luke the Evangelist, termed by Ibn Zafer "Father Luke" (chap. II. § vi), and some which Ibn Zafer claims as his own, by prefixing to each of them (in the first edition) the words, "The author of the book says." Amongst these we find political and moral reflections which can never become obsolete, because human nature is the same in all ages; allusions to social struggles such as those which are even now agitating Europe, and which broke forth in the east during the middle ages with a degree of violence from which we may hope that our own times will be exempt. The principle, however, upon which his reasonings are founded is not applicable at the present day, for it is that of absolute and unlimited authority; and therefore it is that Ibn Zafer seeks to solve the difficulties which beset him by the conception of a faultless prince whose government should be regulated, in accordance with the will of God, by the principles of justice and concern for the general good; who should combine

the attributes of firmness, strength, and patience; and who should be equal to the sacrifice of resigning the power entrusted to his hands, if he found himself unable to wield it according to conscience and right;—a prince, in short, who should be, in the words of Ibn Zafer himself, “more singular than the griffin, more marvellous than alchemy, and rarer than red gold.” We, moreover, detect here the commingling of two widely different social systems, that of the Mussulmans, and that of the Persian Sassanides, in whose times the above-mentioned social struggles broke out; and we may, perhaps, also trace the intermixture of some principles of Indian origin.

The analytic portion contains the compositions of Ibn Zafer himself, together with translations or paraphrases of those of others. In the first edition, the author, with singular and laudable conscientiousness, distinguishes the former from the latter, but prefixes no similar notice to the fragments of sacred and profane history to which he could add nothing but his own style and language. Such are the narratives of Pharaoh and the true Believer (chap. i. § ii.); Chosroes Anûshirewân (III. § v.); Mûsa el Hadi (III. § vi.); the Caliph Othman (III. § x.); Yezdejird, king of Persia (III., § xi.); the exaltation of

Bahram Gour to the throne (iv. § xvi.); the poetess Horka (v. § iv.); Moawia the Second (v. § v.); and No'man the First (v. § vi.). Those which Ibn Zafer confesses to have paraphrased, and which might be correctly designated as historical romances, are those of Walid Ibn Yezid (i. § vi.); Abd-el-Malik Ibn Marwân (i. § vi.); Mamûn (i. § xiv.); Khushnawaz (i. § xv.); Sapor II. (ii. § iv.); Ain-Ahlih (ii. § v.); the Indian prince (iii. § vii.); the education of Bahram Gour (iv. § v.); the Persian jester (iv. § xiv.); Babek, son of Ardshir I. (v. § ix.). and the two traditions, the one Pagan and the other Christian, concerning the abdication of a king of the Hellenes, and of a king of the Alani (v. §§ vii., viii.). By prefixing to them the words, "the author of the book says," Ibn Zafer expressly declares himself to be the author of the various apologues scattered throughout the work, with the exception of those of the Hermit and the Robber (iv. § vii.); the Miller and the Ass (iv. § ix.); the Daughter of the Grecian king (iv. § xi.); and the Pilgrim Founder of a Monastery (v. xiii.). The fables and apologues in general are as the author himself tells us, an imitation of those of Kalila and Dimna, which were transmitted from India to the west, through Persia, the court of the Abbassides, and Italy. Hence I shall

have occasion to advert to this branch of Indian literature ; but first I must be permitted to enquire into the subject of the civilisation of Persia under the Sassanides, whence Ibn Zafer derived his Indian fables, his historical romances, and numerous philosophical maxims ; while the scenes of many of his narratives are laid in Persia. These digressions will serve to explain the complicated form of the work, considered in a literary point of view, and to show how it was that Ibn Zafer, deviating from the rigid severity of Mussulman doctrines, adorned his work with the mild and allegorical character of Indian literature, or with the manly wisdom of Greece, which, holding an exact medium between idealism and materialism, appears to me to have left its traces deeply impressed upon the civilisation of the Persians.

#### § IX.

The history of the Sassanides is much more obscure than might reasonably be expected. The ancient traditions having been lost, and the ancient dialects and their written characters fallen into disuse, the scanty information that we possess concerning this powerful dynasty is derived from an abstract of universal history, written in Arabic by



Hamza of Ispahan, towards the middle of the tenth century; from the fragments preserved by Tabari and other Arab historians, extracted from the works of their countrymen in Persia, in the ninth century; and lastly, from the historical poem of the Persian Ferdûsi, who wrote in the eleventh century, and who appears to have had access to all the literary fragments of the Sassanian period, which had been rescued from destruction. Very scanty, however, must have been the records of a political, social, and religious system, destroyed by violence in the earlier part of the seventh century, which no one sought to collect until a century and a half or perhaps two centuries after, and of which no finished compilation was attempted until the eleventh century, when the task was undertaken by a great poet, and its execution proved, perhaps, on this account, only the more injurious to the cause of truth. This disjointed history, replete with fabulous traditions, and deficient in facts, often withholds from us the information most required, compelling us to have recourse to conjecture, or to the assistance of Byzantine and Armenian authors, in order to shed some light upon the obscurity of the period of which we are about to treat.

The empire of the Sassanides was founded at the commencement of the third century after Christ, forming, in Persia, the era of a period answering to that of modern history in Europe. Persia had already passed through two previous periods analogous to those of the Roman dominion, and of the dark ages; the first being that of its conquest by a more civilised and warlike people, namely, the Greeks, who sowed there the seed of science, art, and liberty; while in the second, we behold the irruption of the Parthians, a people of Indo-Germanic origin; who, after destroying the Grecian Empire, less firmly established than that of the Romans in Europe, introduced into Persia a species of feudal monarchy, causing the era of the middle ages to begin there, in the year 256 before Christ. This return of barbarism, accompanied, if not by a total change of religion, at least by an admixture of foreign superstitions, and by the contempt of the Parthian nobles for the Magian priesthood, tended completely to efface amongst the native Persian population those distinctions of class which had been in a great measure levelled by the Grecian conquest, and which could not survive two long periods of foreign domination.

Five centuries amply sufficed to bring the characteristics of the middle ages to maturity in Persia. The feudal monarchy was elective in the family of the Arsacides, and the territory divided between eighteen of the most powerful vassals, a few petty tributary sovereigns, such as the Arab princes of Hira, and a few free cities. But the conquerors, not being effectually supported either by numbers or by organisation, proved inferior in strength to the native inhabitants. Surrounded by a hostile population, they were slain, expelled, or subdued in their turn; but with this notable difference, that at the close of our middle ages, we behold the leaders of the conquerors, the feudal kings, place themselves at the head of the conquered race, namely, the burgesses and the peasantry, to make head against their earlier adherents; whilst in Persia, a national monarchy springing from the revolution, and supported by the entire native population of every class, expelled the whole of their former rulers without distinction of persons.

National feeling, the discipline enforced by the Magi, and the ardent zeal excited by a religion which made no appeal to the senses, combined to give success to the revolution. The control of it was assumed by Ardshir, better known as Artaxerxes,

a native of Persepolis, the ancient capital of the empire and subsequently that of the province of Fars, who learnt the art of war under the foreign rulers the instrument of whose expulsion he was destined to become. It appears that his father, Babek, had risen from the lowest ranks of the people to be superintendent of the temples of fire, or, according to others, governor of a province. The dynasty was, however, named after Sassan, the father or ancestor of Babek, probably from a wish to flatter the monarch by tracing his descent back into the obscurity of the past, in order to engraft it on the stem of the Persian sovereigns anterior to Alexander. Ardshir, however, derived a more effectual title from the victories which, for twelve years, he continued to obtain at the head of the insurgents, over the “*Moluk-el-Tewaif*,” or “Kings of the Fragments,” as the petty princes or great feudatories of the Arsacides were called by the Arabs. He had, moreover, an additional claim as the elect of the popular forces, who hailed him on the last field of battle, Shahan Shah, or King of Kings. Heeren here observes (*Manuel de l'Histoire Ancienne*, Paris, 1836, p. 342), that the exaltation of the Sassanides must be regarded not only as a change of dynasty, but also as the era of a new

constitution, concerning the nature of which, however, he gives us no information. What this may have been it is very difficult to determine, with nothing to guide us beyond a few casual notices. I will, nevertheless, endeavour to throw a little light upon the subject by the aid of eastern authors, and of some indications to be gleaned from the writings of the Arabs. We are informed by Ibn Badrun (Commentary on the Poem of *Ibn A'bdûn*, Arabic original, published by Dr. Dozy, Leyden, 1846, p. 26), that at the court of Ardshir, the magnates and officials of the court were seated at a distance of ten cubits from the king; ten cubits further off sate the satraps, and lords of villages; and again, at a similar distance, a third class, concerning whom we know only the fact that the king kept this lower order separate from the others. Thus, likewise, the famous political testament of Ardshir, of which several fragments have been published, contains, after the counsels given to his successor, a chapter addressed to his subjects, in which mention is made : (1.) Of the public officials ; (2.) Of the priesthood ; (3.) Of the soldiers ; and (4.) Of the agricultural population. (See *Ibn Badrun*, Commentary aforesaid, pp. 26, 27.) Under the successors of

Ardshir, we frequently find the *Mobedan-Mobed*, or high priest of the Magi, interfering in the affairs of state; and in the narratives of oriental chroniclers we constantly trace the application of the law of succession mentioned by Procopius, (*De Bello Persico*,\*book 1. chap. xxi.), according to which the heir of the monarchy “could not succeed to the throne in virtue of his own right, but had need of the suffrages of the Persian notables.” (οὐδένα χρῆναι αὐτόματον ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἵεναι, ἀλλὰ ψήφῳ Περσῶν τῶν λογίμων.) Those here designated as notables appear to me to be the proprietors of the soil, or, as they were then called, *dihkân*, a word which recalls the *Adeiganes* of Polybius. The *dihkân* was the proprietor of a village or farm, and according to the literal meaning of the word, “chief of a village.” It applies either to a husbandman or a magistrate, and in time of war they, no doubt, commanded the military force of their manor. They appear, in short, to have answered to our barons of the middle ages, who were at once proprietors of the soil, captains, and magistrates; but lesser barons, be it understood—not great feudatories—like the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, etc. — whose prototypes had been swept away in the revolution con-

ducted by Ardshir. That which I have here advanced is confirmed in the historical romance of Sapor II. related by Ibn Zafer, (chap. II. § iv.) which is doubtless either a translation or a paraphrase of the *Pehlwi*\* original, where we find the electors of the Persian monarch, designated in the first edition of the *Solwân*, as “chiefs of the villages,” which in the second edition is exchanged for the more comprehensive expression, “chiefs of the Persians.” The legal struggle between the notables and the sovereign first manifests itself in the reigns of Yezdejird I. and Yezdejird II.; and on the exaltation of Chosroes to the throne, we find that the notables (λόγιοι as they are again called by Procopius), assembled in parliament for this purpose (ἐς τοῦτο ἀγυερμένοι) deliberated to bestow the crown upon Chosroes rather than upon his elder brother, Chaoses: and, as we gather from the statements of eastern writers, abrogated certain laws for the limitation of the regal authority, conferring upon Chosroes a species of dictatorial power. The Persian constitution seems, therefore, to have consisted of the States-General, parliament, or diet, such as it

\* *Pehlwi*, or *Pehlewi*, was the language of the Western Provinces of Persia in the time of the Sassanides.

existed in Europe in and after the twelfth century, but without well-defined powers, or any fixed limit to the legal authority; and, moreover, without any trace of popular representation, but offering as a counterpoise to the power of the sovereign the moral influence of the priesthood, and the opposition of the *dihkân*, members of these States-General and leaders of the militia. Hence we perceive that absolute monarchy could not in general be carried out to its full extent. The tendency of the times was, however, in that direction, as was the case subsequently in Europe at the close of the middle ages; and the opposing influence did not reside in the mass of the people, but in the privileged classes, who were alone able to defend themselves against its abuses: while the lower orders, who had aided the revolution by the power of their arms, remained abject and oppressed as heretofore, all the benefits of the change being appropriated by the new dynasty; the baronage created by Ardshir to replace the old aristocracy of the conquerors, the priesthood, and the military and proprietors of the soil, who appear to me to have constituted but one class, forming altogether a rampart which on the one hand restrained the power of the monarch, and on the other weighed



down the mass of the people. But after three centuries had elapsed, the latter claimed its share, and the result was one of the most tremendous social convulsions recorded in history.

This, exaggerations apart, was the introduction of Communism. The revolution, commenced in thought long before it could be carried out in deed, first presented itself under the form of the notorious Manichean heresy. In the reign of Sapor I., son of the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanides, one Mani, a painter and theologian, gave himself out to be the Paraclete whose coming was foretold in Scripture, worked pretended miracles, and exhibited a book which he professed to be of heavenly inspiration, containing a strange medley of the doctrines of Christianity with those of Brahma and Zoroaster. Instead, however, of the one God of the latter, the spectator of the struggle between the good and evil principles, his doctrine was that of absolute dualism; namely, the co-existence of two antagonistic beings of opposite natures; the principles of light and darkness. This new doctrine gave a severe shock to the religion of the Magi, and paved the way for the social convulsion which followed, by teaching "that in this world no one owns anything, for all belongs to God;

that there is no such thing as marriage. . . . No one should say this is *my* property, or this is *my* wife, *my* son, etc., for no one has an exclusive right to anything. No one must possess too much of anything, nor any one be in want of anything, for all should enjoy all things in moderation." (See *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. i., No. 4, p. 443; Newhaven, 1849; fragments translated by J. P. Brown, Esq.) Such is the exposition of the doctrines of Mani which we find in the Turkish compilation of Tabari's historical work, as well as in those of most of the Eastern chroniclers, who were wont to copy from each other. But the ancient and learned work entitled *Kitab-el-Fihrist*, contains a long chapter on the subject of the doctrines, the worship, and the adventures of Mani, in which we find the following passages touching his moral principles:—"He who seeks to enter into the faith (said the heresiarch) must first make trial of the strength of his own character, and see whether he be able to control his passions and his covetous desires, and to abstain from animal food, from wine, and from sensual pleasures; for if he be unable to do these things, he cannot be admitted." (Paris,

MSS., vol. ii., *Suppl. Arab.*, 1400, fol. 201, *verso*.) This passage would lead us to suppose that the chroniclers wrote in the spirit of hostile partisanship. Be this as it may, the heresiarch came in for his full share of persecution. Sapor I., instigated probably by dislike of the control exercised by the Magi, showed at first no hostility to Mani; subsequently, however, he pronounced sentence of banishment against him: whereupon he went forth to preach in Affghanistan, in India, and, which was far more dangerous, in Tartary. Bahram I., nephew of Sapor, fearing lest he should one day return to Persia, accompanied by these fierce proselytes, recalled the sentence of exile, invited him back to his own country, and there caused him to be slain, his body to be flayed, and the skin to be stuffed and suspended to one of the gates of Jundi-Shapur. The heresy of Mani did not, however, perish with him; its roots continued to spread in silence and in darkness, while the sovereigns were contending against the Romans, Arabs, and Tartars, the privileged classes struggling against the power of the king, and envy, hatred and covetousness, growing and waxing strong amongst the unpri- vileged orders. During this time the doctrines of

Christianity, now favoured and now persecuted by the monarchs, were gradually gaining ground ; and art and science, industry and commerce making rapid progress, for we find them flourishing under Chosroes Anûshirewân, whose fiat could assuredly not have caused them to spring up in a day after the catastrophe which we are about to record. Such was the condition of affairs in Persia when, towards the close of the fifth century, the heresy of Mani, reducing its doctrines to practice, broke forth afresh under the form of Socialism.

The apostle of Socialism in Persia was a man named Mazdak, a native of Persepolis, or, according to some, of Nisabur (Nishapour), and a dignitary of the Persian priesthood. We cannot give implicit credence to the statement of his principles, as set forth by his enemies, and handed down to us by Tabari (*Journal Asiatique*, October, 1850, p. 344), for it is difficult to believe that a man whose life was marked by the utmost austerity, and who was so averse to the abuse of power as to forbid even the slaughter of animals, could have maintained the absolute indifference of human actions ; the presumed community of goods and of wives also, appears to me open to doubt,

especially as Mazdak adopted in every particular the principles of Mani, as above recorded ; and they who inform us that he sanctioned marriage with a sister, do not perceive that they thereby set aside this doctrine, which, perhaps, might mean nothing more than the permission of indiscriminate intermarriage between all classes of society, and of divorce—as it is likewise possible that community of goods might signify some new division of property, or social contract between the proprietors and cultivators of the soil. It is, however, undeniable that a fundamental change was in contemplation both in society and in religion, since Mazdak openly proclaimed the dualism taught by Mani, and that the God of Light had bestowed upon all men an equal right to this world's goods. Hence, the numbers and the zeal of the disciples of the new creed, the inveterate hostility of the privileged classes, and the torrents of blood which were shed. Mazdak unfurled his terrific banner in 493, and converted Kobad, king of Persia, by a fraud, causing a confederate to be concealed under the altar, so that the replies to the questions of the king appeared to issue from the sacred flame. It is added that Kobad thereupon married his own sister, and sought to compel

another of his wives to espouse Mazdak, from which fate she was saved by the entreaties and prayers of her son, Chosroes Anûshirewân, who even went so far as to kiss the feet of the prophet ; an act at the recollection of which he declared that he still shuddered, when, many years after, he caused Mazdak to be put to death. All these traditions appear, however, to be mingled with fable. Be the truth what it may, the country was devastated by a fearful civil war ; the proprietors of the soil defended themselves valiantly under one Arshukhada, gained several victories, followed by great slaughter, and deposed and imprisoned the royal convert, who was liberated through a stratagem devised by his sister-wife. Kobad then took refuge with the Hephthalites, and aided by a host of these barbarians from without, and by the disciples of Mazdak from within, he, in 502, re-entered the capital of Persia without resistance, and the Communists holding the law in their own hands, passed their terrible levelling instrument over the length and breadth of the land. From the somewhat halting narrative of the chroniclers, we gather that the followers of Mazdak enjoyed their triumph some twenty or thirty years,

until they were massacred by Chosroes, according to some, as the representative of his father in 523 ; according to others, as king, in 531. This difference in the date, however, affects the facts of the case but slightly, for there was, doubtless, an understanding between the father and son—the one betraying the Communists, the other cajoling the proprietors of the soil, as is proved by the authority conferred upon Chosroes in 523, and his nomination as successor to the throne in 531. It appears, moreover, that the enormities committed by Mazdak and his followers could not have been altogether so terrible as they are represented, since, at the end of their twenty years of absolute sway, the privileged classes could still exercise their constitutional right of confirming the title of the heir to the crown, and it appears as if there must have been some understanding between them and the followers of Mazdak, when Kobad re-ascended the throne, without opposition, in 502. On the death of the king, the nobles doubtless sought to free themselves from these conditions, dictated by necessity. Chosroes refused the proffered sovereignty, pleading his inability to wield the sceptre of an empire so divided unless his hands

were free. The privileged classes thereupon granted him absolute powers, and resigned their own liberties into the hands of the monarch, in order to obtain deliverance from the Communists.

Chosroes now proceeded to carry into execution the design of the founder of his race, who, in his political testament, sought to impress upon his successors that religion must be the basis, and monarchy the bulwark, of the social system, and had devised an absolute sovereignty, supported by the threefold power of the executive, the army, and the priesthood—the structure being the same as that of the despotic government of Napoleon. Chosroes began his reign by a fearful massacre. He caused Mazdak to be put to death by treachery, and with him from eighty to a hundred thousand of his followers. Two elder brothers of the king perished unheeded in the slaughter, and the infuriated friends of order, applauding and urging on the avenger of their cause, bestowed upon him the strangely inappropriate surname of “gentle spirit,” for such is the meaning of Anûshirewân. More prudent than they, Chosroes, after the application of this fearful remedial measure, paused in his career, and adopting a diametrically opposite course, pro-



claimed entire freedom of opinion, provided it were coupled with obedience to his laws. He restored to all their property and their wives ; caused the patrimony of such families as had become extinct during the civil war to be employed for the public benefit, orphans to be educated, villages to be rebuilt, canals to be dug, the cultivators of the soil to be supplied with seed and cattle, roads to be made, bridges, fortresses, and palaces to be built ; and during the whole course of his long reign exerted himself to the uttermost to advance the material prosperity of the country. He concluded commercial treaties, engaged in wars for the protection of the interests of trade, afforded a vent by his conquests to the restlessness which still fermented in the masses of the people, and (assuredly no good omen for a conqueror), caused the passes of the Isthmus dividing the Black Sea from the Caspian to be closed by a wall of gigantic strength against the incursions of the Tartar tribes, even as Sapor I. had dug a trench between the Euphrates and the Tigris to secure the south-western provinces from invasion by the Arabs. Chosroes, moreover, centralised the powers of the government, and divided Persia into four great provinces,

over each of which, he placed a satrap, or captain-general, entitled *Marzeban*, invested with civil and military authority, and with a force of 50,000 men under his command. He established a numerous order of magistrates; a system of postage, of which the officials formed a species of detective police, corresponding immediately with the central government; and one of taxation, which consisted in a poll-tax, and a land-tax assessed according to the terrier; lastly, he caused all the citizens who were of an age to bear arms to be enrolled in the militia, their equipment and enrolment being conducted with the most rigorous precision. In the matter of religion, Chosroes adhered to the counsels of the founder of the dynasty, for he frequented the temples of fire, and showed great honour to the priesthood; while his own lofty intellect, and, perhaps, also motives of policy, induced him to encourage to the utmost, science, letters, and the arts, and amongst them music, which appears to have been first cultivated in Persia under Bahram V., flourished under Chosroes Anûshirewân, and continued to do so until the fall of the monarchy, when music, both vocal and instrumental, dancing, and pantomime were introduced by Greek and Persian artists, first into

the tents, and at length into the palaces of the conquerors, and once more flourished at Bagdad, whence they passed to the Spanish court of the Ommeyades ; by whom, perhaps, was bequeathed to Spain the germ of those arts which still adorn it.

The higher branches of art, painting, sculpture, and architecture, were held in honour long before the time of Chosroes, as is proved by many monuments, and even by the traditions concerning Mani himself. Thus, beneath a halo of military and literary glory, outward splendour, and material prosperity, this great monarch sought to conceal, perhaps even from himself, the real weakness of Persia, originating in the wide division between the different classes, the religious dissensions, and even the extensive conquests of the Persians. Chosroes died in 579, after a reign of forty-seven years and a half ; and the kingdom continued to subsist for another half century, until the tree, which was rotten to the core, fell beneath the first stroke of the foeman's axe, at the battle of Kadesia. The rapidity of the Mussulman conquest of Persia, which it required little more than this single victory to achieve, and the sudden conversion of the inhabitants to the new faith, can

only be explained by the corrupt state of society already described. The disciples of Mani and Mazdak did not hesitate to adopt a religion which was opposed to that of the Magi, but they carried their own doctrines into the bosom of the Mussulman empire, where they speedily kindled the political and religious struggles which for the most part took their rise in Persia, bequeathing them as a legacy to the Karmatians and other sects which sprung up in the bosom of this Eastern despotism.

In order to complete the picture of Persian civilisation under the Sassanides, we must add an outline of the literary history of the empire, which bears more directly upon the matter in hand, namely, the origin of the Solwân. I have before stated that Chosroes was a patron of letters, being doubtless desirous not only to satisfy the intellectual cravings of his people, but to convert those mental energies, which had been so terrible an engine of destruction in the hands of Mazdak, into the instruments and allies of the regal power. For this reason, Chosroes offered an asylum to many learned men who had met with persecution in the Byzantine empire, on account of their religious opinions ;

he restored the public schools, amongst which was the celebrated academy of medicine of Jundi-Shapur, rendered famous by many learned Indian and Nestorian physicians, and to which were afterwards added professorships of philosophy and literature; he caused the works of Plato and Aristotle to be translated, books to be collected in all countries, and charged his emissaries in India not only with the conduct of political intrigues, but also to make diligent search for the celebrated works which appear to have been very jealously guarded in that singular country. By these means Persia became possessed of the fables of Bidpai, and perhaps also of an early edition of the Arabian Nights, and of the Romance of the Seven Sages, of which an Arabic version of the time of Chosroes, translated from the Pehlwi, has been handed down to us. One of the Arabic or Persian prefaces to the fables of Bidpai informs us that Chosroes, being apprised of the existence of this work in the library of an Indian prince, organised something very nearly resembling a state intrigue, in order to procure it. He charged his learned minister, Buzurjmihr, to seek out some man well versed in the language and usages of the country,

who might dexterously contrive to make a translation of it ; and the Persian physician, Barzuièh, who had formerly been in India for the study of medicine, having been proposed to him, Chosroes sent for him, and gave him his instructions in person. The narrative of the proceedings of Barzuièh, an admirable specimen of oriental subtlety and ingenuity, given by M. de Sacy in his preface to the Arabic edition of the fables of Bidpai, is very entertaining, but too long to be inserted here. Suffice it to say, that when he returned with the translation, the king loaded him with honours, and would have done so with riches also, had he not rejected them, accepting no other reward for his services than a biography of himself, written by Buzurjmihir, which has been preserved to us. Lastly, it appears to me extremely probable that what we should call historical romances were written in Persia both before and after the Mussulman conquest ; and such, without doubt, are the narratives reproduced by Ibn Zafer (chap. I., §§ v., xiv., xv. ; § 11., iv. ; III., § VII. ; IV., §§ v., xiv. ; v., § 1x.) ; the subjects of the two first being taken from Mussulman, and the rest from Persian history. It appears, moreover that in Persia the taste for

romances was of very ancient date, and that the popular songs which form the origin of the heroic traditions of all nations, there assumed the form of heroic romance, that is, instead of being myths interwoven with the religious creed of the country and received as truth, they were pure fictions, composed for the purpose of amusement and instruction, like the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, of which the character seems to be oriental, and the European romances of the middle ages, such as those of Turpin, *The Knights of the Round Table*, etc. Such at least appears to be the narrative of the Persian hero, Roostum, the prototype of the Arabic Antar, a historical personage whose name served as the groundwork of a romance. The taste for these compositions appears never to have been lost in Persia, and is, perhaps, one of the causes of the extreme obscurity of Persian history; for the authentic chronicles, which we know to have been written concerning every king, could not have been disfigured by such fables, but, after the devastations of the Mussulman conquest, fragments of these fictions became interwoven with the more meagre narratives of the chroniclers, while others, like the fables of Bidpai, retained their titles, or in

time were incorporated into the literature of the conquerors. The two tales on Mussulman subjects, which we find in the *Solwân*, (chap. i., §§ v., xiv.) may either be Arabic imitations, or the compositions of Persians, who, as is well known, wrote in Arabic after the conquest; bringing, in homage to the victors, the learning, the errors, and the vices of their country.

We learn from the traditions of Mahomet, and from several poetical works of the period, that the Arabs of Mesopotamia, tributaries of the Persian monarchy, and the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, subdued by Chosroes, had already spread abroad in the peninsula of Arabia the fame of the power of the Sassanides; and even this imperfect sketch of the civilisation of Persia will serve to convey an idea of the amazement with which it inspired the rude Mussulman invaders, whose minds were fully capable of understanding and appreciating that which they beheld. They admired the splendour of the cities of Persia, the finish and magnificence of the public works whose stately ruins are in existence to this day; they turned their attention to the institutions of the country, which they proceeded to imitate; they held intercourse with



the learned Persians, converts to the faith of Islam, who completed the yet imperfect civil code of the conquerors from their own, borrowed in great part from the Romans; and when by all these means the sacred flame of science and literature had been kindled in the breasts of the Arabs, the Persians, to whom they owed it, still retained a traditionary superiority amongst them; and, as it is the tendency of human nature always to seek a golden age in the dim regions of the past, theirs was the period antecedent to Mahomet, that of the best poets of their own country, and of the greatest splendour of Persia, the land of their instructors. Even in the twelfth century, the degenerate Arabs still clung to these traditions of past glory, of which the memory was revived in Spain by Ibn Badrun in his Commentary, and in Sicily by Ibn Zafer in the Solwân.

§ X.

It is well known that the Indian fables, which gradually worked their way into Persia in the time of Chosroes, are to be found amongst the treasures of Sanscrit literature, which, for the last century and a half, have occupied the attention of Europe, and have supplied us with

innumerable apologues of almost exclusively political tendency ; a sort of didactic poems in the form of dialogues, for the most part attributed to animals. The form of these fables is always the same—they begin with a scene at court, when a sage, invariably of inferior station, seeks to instruct or amuse his superior with fables to which he prefixes the moral maxim to be inculcated. He then proceeds to introduce his gifted animals, each of which receives a proper name. These converse together, utter wise sayings, and, in order to convince each other, relate parables concerning other animals, who do likewise, until a whole series of fables are dovetailed into one another, like the tubes of a telescope. The natural timidity of the human mind, when subjected to the sway of civil and religious despotism, the belief in the metempsychosis, and the almost effeminate gentleness which appears to have marked the Indian character from the days of Alexander the Great downwards, sufficiently explain this singular method of handling political subjects ; but the truths thus revealed are not on that account the less profound, nor the knowledge of human nature the less subtle and penetrating.

Amongst the numerous collections of similar fables, the most remarkable, according to the statement of those versed in Indian philology, is the *Pancha Tantra*, or "The Five Sections," which has been recently published in Sanscrit, and of which the learned state the *Hitopadesa* to be an abridgment rather than an abstract. The latter, of which the title signifies "The Book of Salutory Counsels," is attributed to the learned Vishnu Sarman, and divided into four chapters, touching the formation of friendships, their dissolution, war, and peace. (See *Hitopadesa*, or "Salutory Counsels," by F. Johnson, London, 1848, 1 vol., 4to.) Another work extracted from the *Pancha Tantra* is the book of *Kalila and Dimna*, attributed to Bidpai (Baidaba or Veidava in Sanscrit), a learned Brahmin, who is feigned in the preface to have composed it, in order to the reformation of a ribald king, who, having been admonished by this Bidpai, threw him into prison, and prosecuted his disciples; but afterwards, having summoned the philosopher to solve an astronomical problem, submitted implicitly to the dictates of his wisdom. The subject of this work is the treachery of courtiers, and its disastrous consequences. Its name is derived from the Arabic corruption of the

proper names of two jackals, one of which, the hero of the piece, in order to curry favour with King Lion, had sown enmity between him and his minister, the Bull. A Pehlwi version of these fables passed from India into Persia, and was translated into Arabic, with other fragments of Pehlwi literature, in the eighth century, by a Persian convert named Ibn-el-Mokaffa. Towards the end of the eleventh century it was translated into Greek by one Simeon Seth, into Hebrew by Rabbi Joel, and from Hebrew into Latin, between 1262 and 1278, by John of Capua, a converted Jew, from whose version it was rendered into Spanish, German, Latin, and French, as well as into Italian, though in a very defective manner, from the Greek of Simeon Seth. These translations were succeeded by paraphrases and imitations, and by degrees we find the fables of Bidpai reproduced by Boccaccio, Poggio Fiorentino, Bandino, Bandello, and La Fontaine; and they have at length been published in the original Arabic, by M. de Sacy (Paris, 1816, 1 vol., 4to), with an introduction worthy of so eminent a philologist. They have also been rendered somewhat freely into English, by the Rev. Wyndham Knatchbull (Oxford, 1819, 1 vol. in 8vo).

I will say nothing of the other Sanscrit fables, entitled, "The Enchanted Throne;" "The Courts of the Parrot;" "The Courts of the Evil Genii," etc., which have been translated into English and French; nor of the famous romance of "The Seven Sages," or of *Sendabad*, which, after following in the track of *Kalila and Dimna*, was published at Venice in 1852, under the title of *Li Compassionevoli Avenimenti di Erasto*, and an episode of which has been recognised by some in that of Bradamante and Prince Leone in *Orlando Furioso*; but I cannot pass over in silence the Arabian Nights, one story of which was borrowed from Ibn Zafer by the latest compilers of that work, or by him from an earlier edition.

The Indian origin of the Arabian Nights, and their transmission to the west through the medium of the Persians and Arabs, are proved beyond a doubt by Schlegel and the Baron von Hammer (*Journal Asiatique*, April, 1827, and August, 1839), as well as by the irrefragable testimony of Masudi, and of the author of *Kitab el-Fihrist*; nor can it be denied, on the other hand, that the Arabs altered or transmogrified many of the tales, giving to them what frequently appears to be a very

modern form. Such is the opinion of the learned orientalist, Lane, author of the best and most recent translation of the Arabian Nights, who brings forward strong arguments to prove that the latest compilation was made towards the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century. The mere fact that one of the Arabian Nights' tales, that of the "Miller and the Ass," is to be found in the Solwân (see chap. iv., § ix, n. 27.) proves nothing; for while on the one hand it may be argued that this tale, together with two others, are the only ones of which Ibn Zafer does not claim the authorship, and that we find in the version of the Solwân some sentences which are wanting in that of the Arabian Nights; on the other hand, the sentence given in the latter, beginning with "Gold shines," &c., is prefaced by Ibn Zafer, in the first edition, with "The author of the book says;" and he is too conscientious in rendering to others their due, to be suspected of plagiarism in this single instance. In the case of another countryman of my own, I must indeed acknowledge a theft to have been perpetrated upon the Arabian Nights. I allude to Ariosto, and the tale which occupies the first seventy-four stanzas of canto xxviii., which, with

the exception of the names, and of some accessories of little importance, is borrowed or rather copied from the introduction to the Arabian Nights, the date of which, in the absence of evidence, was formerly regarded as very recent ; one of the arguments for this belief being the supposition that the Arab author had copied this episode from *Orlando Furioso*. But the poem was published in 1516, and the introductory tale, which forms the groundwork of the Arabian Nights, must have been coeval with the first compilation of the collection, and must be referred to Persia, where the scene is laid ; so that the charge of plagiarism necessarily falls on the great Italian poet, proving that some fragments of the Arabian Nights had found their way into Italy in the time of Ariosto (possibly by means of Italian merchants, who might have heard them in the Levant), two centuries before they were introduced into the west of Europe, through the medium of Galland's translation, at the beginning of the eighteenth century ; while, as we have already seen, other Indian tales were known there in the thirteenth century, or, we may add, in the twelfth, through the imitations of Ibn Zafer.

To return to the Solwân. With the exception

of that already mentioned (chap. iv. § ix.), not one of the fables it contains is to be found in *Kalila and Dimna*, the *Hitopadesa*; nor, so far as I am aware, in the *Pancha Tantra*, or other Indian collections. The author's imitation is conducted with great skill, avoiding many of the defects of the original. He exchanges the Indian framework of his stories for the historical romances into which he inserts them, and which he acknowledges to be borrowed; and these appear to me to owe their origin to the Sassanian era in Persia, and to be partly imitated from the Arab writers of the period of Harûn al Rashid, or of his immediate successors.

#### § XI.

The esteem in which the *Solwân* was held in the East, is proved, not only by the judgment passed upon it by Imad-Eddin, Ibn Khallikan, and Haji Khalfa, but also by the fact mentioned by the latter (Edit. Flügel, vol. iii., n. 7227, p. 611), that in the fourteenth century, the *Solwân* was put into verse by one Abû-Abd-allah, of Sinjar, in Mesopotamia; and that numerous translations had been made of it, amongst which was a very free one into Persian, entitled *Regal Gardens for the Exercises of Spiritual*



*Life.* Haji Khalfa likewise speaks (vol. iv. n. 8689, p. 345) of a book of the fifteenth century entitled *Fakihat el-Kholafá*, or, “Fruits offered to the Caliphs,” written by one Ibn Arabshah, as he says, in imitation of the Solwân and of *Kalîla and Dimna*; Baron von Hammer, in his History of the Ottoman Empire, makes mention of a Turkish translation of it. Lastly, I know not whether the work mentioned by Casiri (*Bibl. Arab. Hisp.* i., p. 154, n. 525), is to be looked upon as a paraphrase, or merely as a copy of the Solwân with another title.

The great number of copies of the Solwân of different dates, that are to be found in Europe, likewise prove its continued popularity. Of these, I am aware of the existence of twenty, and there are probably many besides, of which I know nothing. The following is a list of the MSS. of the Solwân, which has been compiled with great care as regards those at Paris, somewhat hastily in the case of those at Oxford, and from printed catalogues in all other instances. I must observe, that in enumerating the former, I shall have to make use of two different sets of numbers. The first are those of the Arabic MSS., contained in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, in 1739, when the catalogue was printed; the second,

of those subsequently added, of which there is now an excellent MS. catalogue, the work of M. Reinaud. These two sets of numbers are distinguished from each other by the designations *Ancien Fonds Arabe*, and *Supplément Arabe*, which I mark in initials.

PARIS, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, A. F. 948, small 4to, written in modern and ill-formed *Neskhî* characters. It is valuable in as much as it contains the history of the transmission of the work down to the copy from which the modern transcriber wrote out his MS. Ibn Zafer read it, and, it would appear, permitted it to be copied from his own autograph, in the city of Hamah, in the month Rajib, 565 (March and April, 1187, A.D.), that is, a few months before his death, by the Kadi Najm-Eddin, Mohammed el Mosuli, a kadi and preacher of Soyut, in Egypt; from whom it was successively transferred in 591 (1195) to the Kadi and Emir Sherf-Eddin Mohammad Es-Soyuti; in 602 (1206) to the jurist Ibrahim Er-reba'i, and in 605 (1209) to one Hassan Ibn Abd-errahim, who received permission "to give instructions in it, observing the usual conditions required of learned men;" both the book and the permission having been countersigned by the Kadi of Soyut, mentioned above, in the year 606 (1210).

I have corrected this note to the MS., A. F. 948, by the corresponding one to s.A. 538.

*Id.* A.F. 950, small 4to, *Neskhi* characters, and oriental paper ; no date. Appended to it is an autograph note by Balutius, stating it to have been brought from Aleppo, in 1673, to the library of Colbert.

*Id.* s.A. 535, 4to, oriental paper, and very elegant *Neskhi* characters. Transcribed in 1014 (1605).

*Id.* s.A. 536, small 4to, oriental paper, and very distinct *Neskhi* characters, transcribed the 26th of First Jumadi, 588, or June, 1192. The first ten sheets of this valuable manuscript are more modern, and are copied from a different edition of the Solwân.

*Id.* s.A. 537, small 4to, a clear and correct copy in *Neskhi* characters, bearing date 998 (1590), made for a prince named Abd-allah Ibn Ali Ibn Hassan, of what country is not stated.

*Id.* s. A. 538, small 8vo, on sheets of paper of different colours, *Neskhi* characters. The transmission of the work is recorded upon this, as upon the MS., A. F. 948, with some slight variations.

*Id.* s.A. 539, 4to, a modern copy, without date, in fair characters, with a title-page, on which the title is written on a gilt ground. The first half of the MS. is illuminated with somewhat rude miniatures; in the remainder we find the blank spaces left which they were to have occupied, and here and there the outlines of the figures sketched in red. This MS. came from the library of the Hon. Frederick North.

*Id.* s.A. 1535, small 4to, *Neskhi* characters, and oriental paper. The writing modern, and very correct. In it is noted the transmission of the work, of which, however, only two stages are the same as those we find recorded in the MSS. A.F. 948; and s. A. 538; namely its possession by Najm-Eddin, and Sherf-Eddin, by whom the book is said to have been transferred to one Abd el Monim Ibn Mohammad, Ibn Za'ir Abû'l Najâ. Upon it we read the following note, in the handwriting of M. Le Grand, *interprète du Roi*: “*Solvouan el-Moutâa Fi oudvouan-il-atibaa; c'est à dire motifs des sources de consolation dans les divers évènements de la vie. Il a été composé par le cheikh Hod-dyiat-ed-din abi Hachim Mohammed qui l'a divisé en cinq livres subdivisés en chapitres;*

(1.) *Livre de la résignation et confiance en la Providence*; (2.) *De la consolation*; (3.) *De la patience*; (4.) *De la soumission entière à la volonté de Dieu*; (5.) *De la piété et de la retraite*. *Le stile de cet ouvrage est très élégant; l'auteur l'a parsemé d'histoires, d'apologues, de sentences, et de maximes de morale, qui en rendent la lecture fort agréable et intéressante.*"

This MS. contains likewise three other small works in the same handwriting.

OXFORD.—Bodleian Library. See catalogue, p. I., page 87 (Ury). N. 294, MS. on oriental paper, dated 904, (1498), (Marsh, 325,) on the titlepage of which, after the name of the author, we read:—"Who composed this work in the style of *Kalila and Dimna*, searching out *worldly* truth (*Sidk*), and endeavouring to attain to *eternal* truth (*hakk*).

*Id.* p. 93. N. 329, MS. on oriental paper, dated 736 (1335). (Huntingdon, 180).

*Id.* p. 96. N. 346, on oriental paper, and without date. (Huntingdon, 479.)

*Id.* p. II., p. 382 (Nicoll). N. 382. Only a few sheets of the *Solvân*. Bodl. 527-8.

ESCURIAL.—See Casiri, *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.* I., p. 154. N. 525, under the title of *Kitab-essolwanat*

*fi mesamah el Kholafa wa's-sadta*, where, amongst other errors, we find it stated that Ibn Zafer was born in Cordova, and resided in Sicily ; MS., with 40 figures.

*Id.* i. p. 213, n. 710, under the title of *Solwân el Motâ*. It is here said that the author was born in Sicily, educated at Mecca, and settled at Hamah.

There is another copy marked No. 757 of the same catalogue.

ROME. — Barberini Library. Catalogue of Baron von Hammer, in the *Biblioteca Italiana*, vol. i., p. 159.

LEYDEN.—Public Library. Three MSS. of the *Solwân*, marked 405, 406, and 407, in the catalogue recently published by Dr. Dozy (Leyden, 1851, 8vo), vol. i., p. 268. The first of these, which has no date, is of the first edition, and the other two of the second. The latter are dated 886, and 1003, of the Hejira (A. D. 1481 and 1594).

VIENNA.—Palatine Library. One fine MS., dated 654 (1256), Wolfenbüttel: n 43 of the catalogue, published in the *Mines de l'Orient* (*Fündgrüben*), vol. vi.; Vienna, 1818, p. 272, n. 483.

I learn from the catalogue of Dr. Dozy that there exists one copy of the *Solwân* in the library of Petersburg, and I regret having been unable to obtain a sight of the catalogue.

In collating together the manuscripts of Paris from which my translation is executed, I perceived the variations of the text to be very insignificant, more so indeed than those usually to be met with in works of light literature; such as, for instance, the *Fables of Bidpai*, or the *Arabian Nights*. But, on the other hand, in comparing the MS., S. A. 536, with all the others, I perceived such a notable difference in the arrangement, as well as in the number, of the tales and sentences, and additions and mutilations so extensive, that I could not but look upon this MS. as being one of a different edition; that is, the ancient portion of it, from the eleventh sheet to the end, the first ten sheets being more modern, and transcribed from the common one. We may attribute to this same scarce edition a portion of the MS., A. F. 950, in which, although the work of one copyist, the analytic portion of the first chapter is taken from the scarce edition, and the preface and all the remainder of the book from the common one. These observations, and the belief that something more was involved than

a mere bibliological question, induced me to search out the commencement of this scarce edition, which, it occurred to me, must of necessity have a different preface; and having addressed myself to my learned friend, Dr. Reinhart Dozy, of Leyden, to whose assistance I acknowledge myself deeply indebted, he speedily discovered one of the three MSS. at Leyden (namely, the one without a date, No. 97 of the Golius Fund), to belong to this scarce edition, and to have a different preface, of which he kindly hastened to supply me with a copy. I think it probable that the Bodleian MS. (Marsh, 325,) mentioned above, may belong to the same edition; but when I visited the Bodleian in 1845, and copied the passage already quoted from its title-page, I was unaware of its importance, not having then studied the Solwân. Lastly, in the MS. biography of Ibn Zafer, by Makrizi, mentioned in § iv., it is stated that a Mussulman doctor, by name Abû 'l Hassan Ali Ibn Abd-allah Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Hamza Ansari, of Cordova, surnamed A'bid, saw a copy of the Solwân at Mecca, with an autograph of the author, who had bequeathed it to the Ribat (convent) of the Caliph, governed by Kotb-Eddin el Kastelani (who died in 686, or 1287, A.D.). The bulk of this copy was the



double of that in general circulation, and at the commencement was this passage: "A king, whose actions are noble, and his intentions upright, requested me to compose a book for him which should afford an effectual remedy for the affliction of his mind, and should be written in the style of *Kalila and Dimna* ; I willingly undertook to do so . . . ." and here he records the name and race of the king ; and thus ends Makrizi's note. Now, as these words are to be found in the Leyden MS., although with some variations, and without the name of the prince, there can be no doubt that it belongs to the same edition, which appears to have been more scarce than the other in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, just as it is now. As to its bulk being double that of the common edition, it must be owned that this is not the case with regard to the entire work, but the preface is double and treble that of the latter. Moreover, to both the MSS. above-mentioned of Paris and Leyden, is appended an authentic catalogue of the works of Ibn Zafer, which is not to be found in any of the other MSS., while in these catalogues we find no mention of three works dedicated by our author to his Sicilian patron, and which are recorded in the preface of the others ;

and this alone would suffice to prove the edition of the Paris MS., s. A. 536, to be the more ancient of the two. I have pointed out in the notes the principal differences in the two editions, and will now briefly state the conclusion to which a comparison between them has led me.

The preface of the first edition, addressed to a king whose name is unknown to us, and concerning whom we are told that he was encompassed by the perils of a revolution, sufficiently explains the title of the book, which could not have been suggested by the circumstances of the Sicilian noble, whether a subject or a pretender. This king might possibly be the author of the verses which we find in chap. II., § iii., and was, perhaps, the sovereign of Damascus expelled by Nour-Eddin. In the preface he is addressed with dignity, if not with pride ; a demeanour frequently adopted by learned Mussulmans towards their sovereigns. The portion addressed to general readers is of much merit, in my opinion, for the manner in which it sets forth the plan and design of the work, but it would be better had the author been content with a lesser display of erudition, to prove the orthodoxy of fable as a vehicle of instruction.

In the second preface, which is altered and adapted to the condition of the Sicilian noble, the author no longer assumes the character of a comforter, and makes no mention of *Kalila and Dimna*, but only, in a general way, of narratives which had once been preserved as state secrets; and adds a hope that "no law would be found to prohibit his work, nor would the ear of any be offended by it;" whereas he never touches this chord in the first edition.

In the remainder of the work, besides the alteration of a few sentences and expressions, we find that in the second edition the author omits to mark the distinction between his own narratives, apologues, and maxims, and those of other authors. He also changes the arrangement of the parts, tastefully intermingling his own fables with the historical romances of others, instead of placing them at the end of the latter. Then, gradually diverging more and more from the Indian type, he deprives most of his animals of their proper names, changes the species of some of them, and transfers a Mussulman hypocrite to the Christians. Lastly, he suppresses several fragments of history, and one of the lives of Christian saints, some fables, and several moral and political reflections

of great depth, in place of which he inserts two historical facts and a few verses. It will be readily perceived that these changes were dictated by two motives, the one literary, and the other political. It was probably to avoid the continued interruptions of the text that Ibn Zafer, having unburthened his conscience in the first edition, in the second mingles his own stories indiscriminately with those of others. He, moreover, sacrifices, apparently to his better system of arrangement, the fables of "The Peacock" and of "The Two Viziers," which I have not scrupled to restore to their place ; as well as another apologue and a few historical anecdotes of minor value, which I have mentioned only in the notes. Lastly, the first edition of the Solwân could not fail to give umbrage to Mussulman rulers, in whose hands were united both the spiritual and temporal power. The profound reasoning upon politics, as well as upon revolutions, and the causes from which they sprung, the unmasking of hypocrisy, the constant use of the philosophical and theological language of the ancient Persians, and the custom of designating the Supreme Being by other names than those in use amongst the sons of Islam, might well give offence to those more

bigoted, notwithstanding the perfect piety and morality which distinguishes the entire work. This would be the case more especially, if, as appears probable, the *Solwân* were first published in Syria; where, about the time of its composition, that religious fanaticism which led to the struggle against the Christians, burst forth under the auspices of the Turks. I will not pursue my conjectures further, or suggest that Ibn Zafer perhaps returned to Sicily, owing to persecutions encountered in the dominions of Nour-eddin. That, at any rate, accusations were brought against him, may be inferred from the expressions contained in the second preface; nor is it unnatural, that in presenting this book, of somewhat doubtful repute, under another form, to a good Mussulman, the author should have wished to free it from all the passages which might appear objectionable.

## § XII.

It now only remains for me to give account of my own work. I have translated it from the second edition, prefixing to it, however, the prefaces to both editions; reinstating in their proper places the choicest of the passages which had been

expunged from the first, owing either to fear or to religious scruple ; retaining the fragments of those which I believe to have been sacrificed to an improved style ; and for the rest referring the reader to the notes, in which some of them are inserted at full length.

The Paris MSS., S. A. 535 and 537, are those to which I have adhered the most closely, believing them to be the most complete ; but I have likewise had recourse to the other Paris MSS., especially to S. A. 536, which was my only authority for the passages omitted in the second edition. I derived some assistance, also, from Imad-Eddin's anthology, for the verses of Ibn Zafer contained in the Solwân ; and I must here be permitted to record my obligations to the learned Librarians of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, who placed the eight Paris MSS. at my entire disposal, even permitting me to take them to my own house together with other books and manuscripts, thus affording me every facility for the pursuance of my task.

I have adhered strictly to the letter of the Arabic, wherever it was possible to do so without falling into too quaint a style ; for if a servile translation shows ignorance of either one or other of the languages, one that strays from the sense in

order to elude the difficulty is no less objectionable; and even the greatest poets, when translating the works of classic writers do not disdain to be faithful to the original—witness Byron's almost literal version of Dante. In this case, however, a few amplifications are rendered necessary by the extremely concise and elliptical character of the Arabic language.

As to the title of the work, I have not scrupled to give a somewhat free translation of it on the title-page, since the literal version will be found in the preface. The first thing considered by the Arabs in compounding the titles of their books, was the rhyme; a powerful instrument in the hands of those who are able to wield it, but a heavy incumbrance to others; and which often misleads Arab authors into saying that which they do not mean, both in the titles and in the works themselves. Besides this it was essential that they should be whimsical and strange, and require an explanation, like that which Ibn Zafer gives of the word *Solwân*. Thus, what with obscurity of diction and extravagant play of fancy, the titles of Arabic books are often little better than enigmas, which every one interprets according to his taste; and such is the case with the *Solwân*, although it must be owned that some of the

interpreters appear to have set commonsense altogether at defiance.

D'Herbelot, in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, begins an article on the *Solowan Almothà*, with "*Titre d'un livre de morale et de dévotion par Abu Hassan al Moazzi. Ce sont des motifs de consolations dans les maux de la vie ;*" thus showing that he had not even read the preface. I know not whence he derived the name al Moazzi, and have therefore made no mention of it in § iv.

After him Casiri, in giving the title of the two MSS. in the Escorial, renders No. 70, "*Solamen hominis Dei voluntati obtemperantis,*" and the other, "*Solatia malorum et nocturna regum confabulatio.*" (*Bibl. Arab. Hisp.* 1. N. 525, 710). Ury, in the Oxford catalogue, falls into a similar error, when he writes "*Solatum Pii in iniquitate temporum.*" (*Cat. Oxford*, 1. N. 294, etc.)

The learned Fraëhn (*Num. Bulgh.*, p. 32), gives the following version, "*Consolatio petenda ab eo qui obedientia colendus*" (*a Deo, scilicet*). It appears, however, that he had never had the *Solwân* in his hand, and had only seen the title of it in printed catalogues.

I cannot find fault with the Latin interpretation, in the Vienna catalogue, "*Recreatio obedientis in semitâ sequelæ,*" for I do not understand it.



Nicoll, in his additions and corrections to Ury's Catalogue (Cat. Oxf. II., N. 382), interprets the second portion of the title more correctly, as "*Solamina Dei in malignitate Sociorum.*"

The Baron von Hammer, in the letter quoted above (*Bibl. Ital.*, vol. i., p. 159), writes the title, "*Selwanol-motaa,*" and translates it, "The consolations of him that is obedient."

Flügel, guided by a variation in the reading of the last word, has rendered it (edit. of Hajji Khalfa, iii., p. 611, N. 7227,) "*Solatia, a Deo obedientia colendo, in malignitate indolis, petenda.*"

Lastly, the Baron de Slane, in his yet unpublished third volume of Ibn Khallikan, p. 106, translates it "Consolation for the master who suffers from the enmity of his servants."

I have partially adopted the interpretation of this eminent Arabic scholar, but did not determine upon doing so until I had read the preface to the first edition, in which it is recorded that a portion of the followers of the unknown king, to whom the book is dedicated, had been seduced by a certain rebel. The word which I have translated as "followers," or "subjects," is the one with which the title concludes, and there is, therefore, no doubt as to its signification;

but for this it might have been rendered, with equal correctness in the title, as circumstances, or events; and I should have inclined to this interpretation, as being the more usual one.

I have frequently had occasion, in the course of the work, to transcribe proper names, and other Arabic words; and amidst the confusion which reigns amongst the orientlists of Europe, I have thought it best to follow the system prescribed in the admirable works of the Oriental Translation Fund, with the amendments of Baron de Slane, as announced by him in the first volume of his forthcoming work (*Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*), and a few other modifications required by custom—for it is impossible to deny the imperfection of a system in which one Roman letter represents two or three different Arabic ones, for the simple reason, that the Latins had no such sounds in their language. Their practice was the same with regard to some of the letters of the Greek alphabet, which, instead of adding letters to theirs, the Latins endeavoured to imitate by doubling the consonants, and aspirating the *h*'s. The people of the north and west had recourse to similar means; they adopted the Latin alphabet, in order to express the sounds of their

respective languages, and hence arose a Babel-like confusion in the orthography of Europe, which becomes only the more manifest when an attempt is made to represent sounds not appertaining to any European language. The only means of obviating these difficulties, and one to which a few distinguished Dutch and German Orientalists have already had recourse, would be to give a conventional value to some of the Roman letters when used in the transcription of oriental words, marking them with points in order to show that they are not employed in the usual manner. Some years ago, I maintained an opposite opinion; but I have since been converted by the arguments of the learned Count Francis Miniscalchi, of Verona, who is zealously exerting himself to obtain the adoption of such a system of transcription for all the languages of the East. In the meantime we are compelled to aid ourselves as best we may, with our ~~own~~ <sup>present</sup> imperfect instruments; and in order to avoid ~~er~~ <sup>multi-</sup> multiplying innovations, which would be disagreeable, if not perplexing to the reader, in the case of such titles and proper names of persons or places, as have been familiar to us from childhood, I have retained the conventional, though corrupt, orthography sanctioned by custom, and have written Mahomet for Mohammad, when speaking of

the Prophet, Aleppo for Haleb, Caliph for Khalifah, etc.

Some paragraphs of this introduction and many of the notes will, no doubt, at first sight, appear superfluously long, but, upon reflection, it will be seen that I could not do otherwise than endeavour to elucidate the various historical and literary points brought forward in the course of the work, and which are so little known, that I was compelled to have recourse for this purpose to untranslated Arabic works, manuscript and others, as well as to works of oriental literature which are not in common circulation. Above all things, I was anxious to investigate certain historical facts, which appeared to me to be either little known, or viewed in an erroneous light; and this I have not scrupled to do at length in some of the notes; amongst others, in those concerning the

origin and  
the connexion

origin and the fortunes of the so-called Magi; on the connexion between the ancient creeds of India and of Persia; on the Arab Christian poet, Adi Ibn Zeid; and on the antiquities of the city of Hadhr, in Mesopotamia, recently illustrated by the travellers Ross and Ainsworth, to whose historical and topographical information I have added a few facts, which may prove of importance, extracted from the Arabic MSS. of Paris. For

the compilation of the notes, I have consulted, besides numerous MSS., the Arabic originals, published by Dozy, Fréytag, and Fleischer, as well as the valuable works of Caussin de Perceval, Flügel, Quâtemere, Reinaud, De Slane, and Des Vergers; and I regret that my ignorance of German should have prevented me from having recourse to Weil's *History of the Caliphs*. I have derived, in particular, much valuable matter from the researches of Caussin, and the reflections of Des Vergers on the history of the early Arabs, and from Reinaud's *Mémoires sur l'Inde*. I am, moreover, indebted to the latter for counsel and assistance in one or two passages of my translation, as well as on some doubtful points of geography and erudition; and to Dr. Dozy, for the communication of several important fragments noticed above.

It is needless for me to add, that I do not offer the Arabic original to the public, inasmuch as it would be very difficult to find a publisher who would undertake the task. Such a work I have, however, prepared, by accurately noting the variations of the other Paris MSS., as collated with S. A. 535; and am therefore ready to justify my version in the eyes of orientalists, should they desire to confront it with any of the copies of the Solwân, which are so numerous in Europe.

In conclusion, I beg leave to assure the reader that I should never myself have ventured upon the task of rendering the Solwân into English, much less upon that of writing the Introduction and Notes, in that which, however familiar to my comprehension, is nevertheless to me a foreign tongue. I therefore addressed myself to the author of the Translation of my former work, *The War of the Sicilian Vespers* (with which I first became acquainted, through the gratification afforded me by its perusal after it appeared in print), whose assistance I esteemed myself fortunate to obtain. The English reproduction of my Italian Translation has been submitted to me in manuscript, and by me carefully revised and corrected upon the Arabic original, to which it occasionally adheres even more closely, where the English adapts itself better to the Arabic idiom. I can, therefore, conscientiously vouch for the accuracy of the version for which I alone am answerable, while to the English Translator I offer my sincere acknowledgments for the manner of its execution.

M. AMARI.

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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IN the name of God, the Merciful and Clement, Mohammad Ibn Abi Mohammad Ibn Zafer, the poor and lowly servant of the Lord, content to abide His holy will, whose sins may God assoil, thus writes :—

Gratitude to God is the noblest garment which man can array himself withal ; and praise of Him the surest means to obtain the blessings of this life, and of that which is to come. Glory be to God, who gives us endurance as a pledge of success, and friendship as a refuge in misfortune. Glory be to Him, who spreads an impenetrable veil over the mysteries of Fate, and restrains the loftiest intellects behind the wall of uncertainty ; to Him, who leads the submissive by smooth and pleasant paths, but drives forward the reluctant, until, stumbling and murmuring, they reach the goal of obedience to his decrees.

He, whose name be praised, has said : “ Perchance thy soul may loathe that which God hath sent thee for thy special good.” \*

Blessed be our Lord Mahomet, whom he has sent to bear witness, and to proclaim good tidings ; to admonish men and call them to holiness, and to be, by the will of God, a shining light unto their eyes. May the blessings of the Most High be showered upon him !

And praise be to God, who created the children of Adam in so noble an image, and caused the plants of the earth to spring up by means of the waters of heaven for their use ; supplied them with such abundant means of subsistence ; instructed them by the ministry of the prophets, who taught them to distinguish right from wrong in their actions ; placed both the mighty and the lowly under the governance of princes, commanding all mankind to follow the wise precepts of princes and of holy men ; and enjoining them to afford the former all the assistance in their power in the right way, even as to princes he committed the execution of the most noble and arduous tasks ; for the burdens of the rulers of the people are heavy to be borne, and their office is full of labour. Their duty is to

\* Koran, chap. iv., v. 23.



guard their subjects from those who would seduce them by flattering words; to secure them from all danger in their houses and in the highways; to defend them from their enemies, not only by war and violence, but by artifice and subtlety; to restrain the strong from oppressing the weak, and the wicked from injuring the upright; to instruct the ignorant; to cut off, in times of sedition, the diseased members of the social body; to levy on the goods of their subjects the dues prescribed by the law of God, and employ the revenue thence accruing for the public benefit.

For all these reasons, the work performed in one day by a just prince is more meritorious than sixty years of strife in the Holy Wars. For this cause, likewise, he shall obtain an honourable place in the presence of God, at the end of the world, as we read in the *Mosnád Sahih*,\* on the faith of Abdallah Ibn Omar; according to whom the Apostle of God said: "Just princes are seated on thrones of light at the right hand of the Most Merciful God; and there also are those who have observed justice in their judgment, and towards their kindred:" and soon even to the end of this tradition. One of the most genuine and authentic traditions of Ibn

\* See note 6 to chap. i.

Shihâb is the following, which he obtained from Homaïd Ibn Abd-er-Rahman, who had it from Miswar Ibn Mokhrama himself; namely, that he having been once sent to Moawia (the first founder of the Ommeyad dynasty), afterwards related the following discourse :—“Having,” said he, “entered the presence of Moawia, and saluted him, he questioned me thus :—‘Whence is it, O Miswar, that you make such complaints against the Caliphs?’ ‘Permit me to expound them,’ replied I, ‘and listen with indulgence to that which I shall say in their justification.’ ‘In the name of God,’ replied Moawia, ‘reveal the offspring of your soul without fear.’ Then I did not hesitate to show him all that I had ever said against him; and Moawia having heard me, answered, ‘O Miswar, I am assuredly not free from faults; but, tell me, have you never committed any which make you fear eternal damnation, unless you obtain the pardon of God?’ ‘Yes, God knows I have,’ replied I. And the Caliph resumed : ‘What reason have you, then, for supposing that you are more worthy of His forgiveness than I, who have in my favour the merit of having so often concluded peace between men, caused the divine laws to be observed, combated in the Holy Wars, and accomplished so many great

works that neither you nor I should be able to number them? I am indeed so heavily laden with the burden of my duties, that I doubt not God will graciously accept my good works, and pardon my evil ones. Moreover, as often as I have had to choose between God and the world, I have always made choice of God.' 'In reflecting upon this discourse,' said Miswar, 'I held myself for vanquished;' and he never afterwards heard mention made of Moawia without saying, 'May God prosper him!'"

The author says: This likewise is the opinion of the wisest doctors concerning those princes who have not yet fully attained to the standard of justice. But this cannot be said of the princes of our own times, to whom it rarely happens to secure an honest and able minister, a learned and faithful counsellor, one who should act with firmness and self-denial, and do battle for the cause of God!

It is moreover related that when Omar Ibn Abdel-Aziz\* sought to restrain the arrogance of the race of Beni Merwan, and of the rest of the house of the Ommeyades, and to cause justice to be done to the people at their expense and at that of their retainers, for all the misdeeds which they had

\* See note 4 to chap. v.

thought to commit with impunity, they assembled themselves together, and hastened in great indignation to the palace, where they found the son of Omar, by name Abd-el-Malik, and addressed him in these words :—" Tell the Commander of the Faithful, that we will not submit quietly to the regulation by which he despoils us of that which was granted us from the public treasure by the princes, his predecessors, and wrests from our hands the possessions which we held, to bestow them upon others, under pretext that they were usurped by us. Why should he pretend to inquire into a matter which has been decided after mature examination by another monarch ?" Abd-el-Malik went instantly to report this to his father, whom he found with Amr Ibn Mohâjir, a man whom the Caliph was wont to employ in matters of public business. Omar, having heard him, fixed his eyes on the ground, and remained for some time silent and absorbed in profound meditation. Then raising his head, and turning to Abd-el-Malik, "What do you say to this, my son?" asked he. And Abd-el-Malik replied, " Oh, Commander of the Faithful, go forward in the path which God has prescribed to you, even if you knew that the stroke of death was impending over us both! " " And what do you think

of it?" then inquired the Caliph of Ibn Mohâjir; who replied: "God said to the Prophet: 'Afterwards we appointed thee, O Mahomet, to promulgate a law concerning the business of religion; wherefore follow the same, and follow not the desires of those who are ignorant. Verily, they shall not avail thee against God at all. The unjust are the patrons of one another; but God is the patron of the pious.'"<sup>\*</sup> Upon which Omar exclaimed: "Praise be to God, who has given me you two to assist me, and confirm me in my purpose." Thus Omar Ibn Abd-el-Aziz considered it in his time a piece of great good fortune to be assisted by two councillors at such a juncture. Alas! why is it that after so many generations men have become year by year more base?

We find, moreover, that the same Omar Ibn Abd-el-Aziz, having once written to Salem Ibn Abdallah, to inquire of him some details of the conduct, as Caliph, of Omar Ibn Khattab, which conduct he proposed to imitate; Salem answered him: "You do not live in the days of Omar, nor in the midst of a generation like to that over which Omar reigned. Nevertheless," continued Salem's letter, "keep a strict watch over your officials, and

<sup>\*</sup> Koran, chap. xlv., v. 17 and 18.

make frequent examinations into their conduct, in order that they may fear you. Confirm in their office those with whom you are satisfied, and remove those who give you cause of displeasure. If you bestow or take away office not from respect of persons, but for the service of God, you may hope that he will furnish you with assistants capable of seconding you." And this is very true, as is proved by the saying of the Apostle of God : " To him who is imbued with the fear of the Lord shall be made," etc. : and so on to the end of this tradition.

In continuation, I say that a king, noble both in deed and in purpose, and whose justice was acknowledged by all ; commended for the habit of reflection, and gifted with high intellectual powers ; full of the love of science, which filled both his heart and mind ;<sup>1</sup> and addicted to the speculations of moral philosophy ; beheld his subjects assailed by a rebel, who having succeeded in alienating a portion of them, already aspired to wrest the kingdom from him by force, and had seduced away some of his most powerful followers. In the midst of so great tribulation, the king requested me to write a book of philosophy and erudition, for his comfort ; and seeing that I accepted the task, and did not despair

of being able to relieve him from the sorrow which oppressed him, it occurred to him that my work would not have power to dissipate his sadness, nor to afford relief to the affliction of his soul, unless it were written in the style of "Calila and Dimna." This prince had granted me his cordial friendship, his generous beneficence, and a degree of intimacy which he displayed as openly in public as in private; so that my soul recoiled from the idea of refusing him consolation in his trouble. I therefore proceeded to select from amongst the best and rarest of the writings of the Arabs on the subject of moral philosophy, some narratives concerning Commanders of the Faithful, and other yet more ancient monarchs. I polished up the rough gold of these narratives, using my utmost diligence to make their meaning plain. I inserted here and there, as in a nest, philosophical maxims, both maidens and spouses; and I have united with them certain fabulous personages, into whom I have breathed the breath of those lofty spirits, robed their persons in the mantle of regal bearing, bound their temples with the garland of lofty thoughts, and suspended from their shoulders the sword of Arabian or foreign dominion. I have opened every chapter with a few verses from the Koran, and

some traditions of the elect Prophet Mahomet, whom may God bless with praise and worship: and lastly, I have placed in it gardens for the delight of the heart and ears, and weapons for combat against faults of habit or of character.

I have entitled this book, *Solwân al Motà fi Odwan al Atbà* (Resources of a Prince against the Hostility of his Subjects.) The term Solwân, is the plural of Solwanah, the name of a shell, concerning which the Arabs believe, that if a little water be poured upon it, and given to drink to one who is in love, he will immediately recover.

The Rajiz has said :—

“ Not even were I to drink the Solwân, should I find peace. Not even were I rolling in wealth, could I live without thee.”

The resources of which I speak, are five in number : Firstly, Trust in God ; secondly, Fortitude ; thirdly, Patience ; fourthly, Contentment ; and, fifthly, Self-denial.

I therefore now prepare myself to set forth the parables of various kinds which I have succeeded in collecting, all resting on the foundation of the original narratives translated into Arabic ; which parables I have sought to enliven with the charm of eloquence, and have introduced into them



various philosophical sayings put into the mouths of animals. But first I must premise one consideration, in order to shield myself from the blame of the short-sighted, and also from that of men of penetration, who feign not to see. And this consideration is the same which is recorded upon good authority, by the Imâm and Jurist Abû Bekr Mohammad Ibn Hosain Ajawî, who relates that the Commander of the Faithful, Omar Ibn Abd-el-Aziz, having on one occasion attended the obsequies of a member of the House of Ommeyah when the corpse was buried, commanded those present to remain where they were, whilst he, uttering a cry, went forward into the midst of the tombs. His attendants waited for him a long time, and when he at length returned, with red eyes, and the veins of his neck all swollen, they said to him, "You have lingered a long time, O Commander of the Faithful! what has detained you?" And Omar replied: "I have been amongst the sepulchres of those most dear to me. I saluted them; but no one returned my salutation; and when I turned my back to depart, the earth cried unto me: 'Omar, why dost thou not ask me what is become of the arms?' 'What is become of them?' said I;

and the earth replied : ‘The hands have been separated from the wrists, the wrists from the fore-arms, the fore-arms from the elbows, the elbows from the joints of the shoulders, the joints from the shoulder-blades.’ And as I turned in the act to depart, the earth called to me once more : ‘Why, Omar, dost thou not ask me, what is become of the trunks?’ ‘What?’ replied I, and the earth resumed : ‘The shoulders have been parted from the ribs : and afterwards, in succession, the ribs, and the back-bone, the hip-bones, the two thigh-bones, and in the lower extremities, the knees, the legs, and the feet, have been severed from one another.’ I then sought to withdraw, and the voice cried to me for the third time : ‘Attend to me, Omar ; hast thou no shrouds that will not wear out?’ ‘And what shrouds will not wear out?’ replied I. And the earth answered, ‘The fear of God, and obedience to his will :’ and so on to the end of the tradition.

The author of the book says : O reader, may God be gracious unto thee, attend to these words that Omar attributed to the earth, to which, as inanimate matter, it appears absurd to ascribe flowery and elegant language. Omar, nevertheless, represented the earth as repeatedly

calling upon another person, questioning, relating, and admonishing; which assuredly had never really come to pass: but he used this language metaphorically, because having called to mind these philosophical admonitions he was minded to cast them in the form of a narrative, dividing them into questions and answers, attributing them to others, and putting them in the mouth of the inanimate earth, because he perceived that the hearers would thus be more forcibly driven to reflection, and more urgently moved to relate the matter to others. For if he had said, “ Reflecting upon the state of those who are buried, I perceive that they must be reduced by the earth to such and such a condition,” his warning would not have been expressed with nearly the same vigour that it derived from the original form recorded above.

Likewise Omar Ibn Abi Bishr relates, that Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, upon whom be the peace of God, one day haranguing the people and being interrupted by their clamours, descended from the tribune and began to speak thus:—“ These people, Othman, and myself, are in the same case as the three bulls, one white, the other red, and the third black, which lived in a jungle together with a lion. Whenever

the lion attacked one of these three bulls, they, by uniting their forces, repulsed him, so that he was unable to devour them. But one day the lion said to the black and red bulls: 'The colour of this white bull will some day cause us to be discovered in the jungle in which we dwell. If you would suffer me to do so, I would eat him up, and thus we should remain securely concealed; for no one would be able to discover us, seeing that your colour harmonises with mine and mine with yours.' The two bulls, therefore, closed their eyes to what was going on; and the lion, having devoured the white bull, remained with them, and when he sought to attack them, they united together against him. Then, turning himself to the red bull, the lion said: 'This black fellow will bring disaster upon us, for his colour attracts the eye. Contrive, therefore, to leave him alone, and I will eat him up, and then you and I shall remain here in safety; for the colour of my hide resembles yours, and yours and mine are the same.' Accordingly the black bull was forsaken by the red one and slain by the lion, who lived for a short time in peace with the survivor, until one day he called out to him: 'Oh! red bull, I am coming to devour you.' 'You, to

devour me?’ replied the bull. And the lion replied, ‘I, myself.’ ‘Since there is no help for it, then,’ exclaimed the unfortunate animal, ‘at least wait until I have cried out three times.’ The lion thereupon drew back, and the bull cried: ‘Not to-day, not to-day, doth he slay me: he slew me when he devoured the white bull; he slew me when he devoured the white bull; he slew me when he devoured the white bull.’ Even thus,” continued Ali, “was I lost on the day of the slaughter of Othman;” and this he repeated three times.

The author says: The example here alleged, gives abundant evidence of the lawfulness of the species of fiction which I have undertaken to relate. To the same effect, it is well to recall that which is related of No'man Ibn Bishr,\* the comrade of the Prophet. At the time that he governed the city of Cufa for the Caliph Moawia, the latter ordered him to give ten dinárs<sup>3</sup> additional pay to every individual whose name was inscribed on the rolls of the Divan of Cufa. No'man, believing this measure to be inexpedient, did not carry it into effect; and hence, one Friday, when he was haranguing the people from the

\* See note 11, chap i.

tribune, they cried out to him, "In the name of God, O Emir, give us the additional stipend." "Do you not perceive," replied he, "that the dispute between you and me exactly resembles that which came to pass between the hyena, the fox, and the dhabb? (land crocodile). The hyena and the fox going to the den of the other beast, called to him: 'O Abu Hosail!' 'I am at your orders,' replied he, and they continued: 'We are come that you may judge between us.' 'The judge must be sought in his own house,' replied the dhabb. And the hyena resumed:—'My eyes hurt me.'—*D.* It is the effect of the heat.—*H.* I gathered some fruit.—*D.* A good thing.—*H.* And the fox eat it up.—*D.* Well, he took care of himself.—*H.* But I gave him a blow with my paw.—*D.* So much the worse for him.—*H.* The fox gave me another in return.—*D.* A noble animal will avenge itself.—*H.* Now decide between us.—*D.* Tell a woman one story, and then a second, and though she make a face over it tell her ten.' All these sayings are common adages, and are to be found in all collections; although the retailers of proverbs, while recording the saying of No'man, have in some degree altered the words; but I have chosen here

to revive the memory of No'man, and relate that which a comrade of the Prophet held it lawful to say, when haranguing the people from the tribune in the assemblage of Friday, because, under such sanction, no one can find fault with the work I have undertaken.

All Mussulmans, moreover, agree in admitting that the marvellous narratives devised by gifted persons are a lawful imitation of the specimen contained in the Koran, in the parable of the Ant and the Gnat ; for all beings endowed with vital and intellectual faculties superior to those of the above-named insects enjoy them as a special gift of God, differing alike from animal instinct and prophetic inspiration. Thus, God, whose name be praised, has said : " 'The Lord spake by inspiration unto the bee ;" \* that is, he gave it special cognisance, etc. He hath said, moreover : " Neither is there anything which doth not celebrate his praise ; but ye understood not their celebration thereof." † Which saying conveys the idea that God has bestowed the knowledge of himself and of his unity upon all created beings. According to some, indeed, this celebration of the praises of God consists only in the marvels of the creation,

\* Koran, chap. xvi., v. 70. † Ibid. chap. xvii., v. 46.

and the goodness of the Creator, which, being contemplated by a man of enlightened intellect, give him occasion to admire the unity, power, and wisdom of God. But this opinion only holds good with regard to the reflections which the mind of man may make concerning inanimate things, and can by no means be applied to such as are endowed with life. Accordingly, it is related in the tradition of Abû Derdâ,\* that the Apostle of God once said, "No bird nor fish was ever captured except for having neglected to celebrate the praises of God." Maimun Ibn Mahran likewise relates that the truthful Abû Bekr, may God be well pleased with him, once saw a crow expanding its broad wings, and saying: "No game is ever taken, nor does any tree perish, except for having neglected to celebrate the praises of God:" and so on to the end of this tradition.

Lastly, God himself has informed us how he enabled the ant to give wise counsel to her companions, and to warn them to beware of the destruction which was impending over them, and how he granted her the privilege of knowing Solomon, with whom be peace, and his armies ;

\* See note 6, chap. iv.



as may be seen by the language held by this insect to the other ants, saying, "O ants, enter ye into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you under foot." \* God, moreover, enabled her to discern the justice and clemency of Solomon, and made her understand, that had he perceived the ants, there would have been no cause to fear that he should exterminate them, which may be perceived from the expression, "and perceive it not." And here, as some believe, the personal pronoun "*Hum*," which governs the verb "to perceive," relates to the ants; which would imply, that they did not perceive their companion who was giving them this good advice. But the former interpretation is the better one, for, properly speaking, the pronoun "*Hum*" relates to beings endowed with reason.

Elsewhere God himself informs us, that He inspired the lapwing with the knowledge that Solomon himself was ignorant of the things which He had revealed to her, as may be seen by the words of the lapwing: "I have viewed a country which thou hast not viewed." † Moreover, God gave her to know the different races of men, and ability to distinguish Arabs from

\* Koran, chap. xxvii., v. 18. † Ibid. v. 22.

barbarians, and truthful men from liars, as we read in the same verse: "And I come unto thee from Saba with a certain piece of news;" whereas the inhabitants of that country were indeed descended from Saba, the son of Himiar. He gave her to know, moreover, the appearance and the condition of men, so that she could distinguish men from women, and kings from vassals; for in the following verse the lapwing continues: "I found a woman to reign over them," namely, to reign over Saba. He gave her to understand how kings accumulate many different kinds of possessions, and are desirous of heaping up treasure, as is shown in the rest of the verse, "who is provided with everything," namely, everything which it is customary to offer to princes. God likewise gave her knowledge of the several kinds of rubies and pearls, and that these gems are of great price, and increase the value of that which is adorned with them, for at the end of the verse we find, "and she hath a magnificent throne," magnificent, that is, after the manner of men. He gave her to recognise the form of prayer, which is accompanied with prostrations, to understand that this was an act of propitiation and devotion, and to perceive that the people of Saba worshipped not God but

the sun, as we learn from the words, "And I found her and her people to worship the sun, besides God."\* He gave her to know the existence of Satan, and his tendency to work that which is evil; and that there is in all the world but one path which leads to God, and that is the religion which is acceptable to Him; that Satan turns men aside from this path; and that whoever forsakes it goes astray, as we read in the continuation of the verse, "And Satan hath prepared their works for them, and hath turned them aside from the way of truth, wherefore they are not rightly directed." He gave her to know that worship is due to God, and that He alone is the divine Essence, as we learn from the words, "Lest they should worship God."† And again "There is no God but He."‡ He gave her to know that God orders one hidden substance in Heaven, that is water: and another on the earth, that is the germ of plants; and that He alone draws forth both the one and the other, which is alluded to in the words of the lapwing, who incidentally brings forward this idea in order to arouse men to admiration of the Godhead, and to show that God has a right to the adoration of all

\* Koran, chap. xxvii., v. 24. † Ibid, v. 25. ‡ Ibid, v. 26

His creatures, being their Creator, and He who furnishes them with subsistence. He gave her also to understand that the hidden things are as well known to God as those which are visible, as we find in the words: "Who bringeth to light that which is hidden in heaven and earth, and knoweth whatever they conceal, and whatever they discover."\* Lastly, God gave her to know that He is seated upon a throne, beside which all the glories of all the thrones of earth vanish away, as may be learnt from the expression: "the Lord of the magnificent throne,"† in which the definite article points out the inferiority and worthlessness of the throne of Balkis, Queen of Saba, which is indefinitely designated as "a magnificent throne."‡ God therefore granted to the lapwing to understand all these doctrines, which dazzle and confound the minds of men.

To return to my subject, I declare that when the knowledge of facts, and the deductions to be drawn therefrom, are unfolded before the intellect of Man, he makes himself master of the various forms of eloquence, and from the sense of hearing to which language is addressed, proceeds to com-

\* Koran, end of v. 25, quoted above.

† Ibid. v. 26.

‡ Ibid. v. 33, quoted above.

municate by imagery with that of sight ; nor is there anything which it is beyond his power to achieve. I therefore commence my task by praying to God that He would aid me to attain my object, and direct my words to so high a purpose that they may serve as a preparation for a future state ; for He alone does what He wills ; He is the Mighty and Valiant ; power and goodness dwell in Him alone.

## PREFACE.

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IN the name of God the Merciful and Clement, Mohammad Ibn Abi Mohammad Ibn Zafer, the poor and lowly servant of the Lord, content to abide His holy will, whose sins may God assoil, thus writeth :—

Gratitude to God is the noblest garment which a man can array himself withal ; and praise of Him the surest means of obtaining the blessings of this life, and of that which is to come. Glory be to God, who gives us endurance as a pledge of success, and friendship as a refuge in misfortune. Glory be to Him who spreads an impenetrable veil over the mysteries of Fate, and restrains the loftiest intellects behind the wall of uncertainty ; to Him who leads the submissive by smooth and pleasand paths, but drives forward the reluctant, until, stumbling and murmuring, they reach the goal of obedience to His decrees.

He whose name be praised has said, "Perchance thy soul may loathe that which God hath sent thee for thy special good." \*

Blessed be our Lord Mahomet whom He hath sent to bear witness, and to proclaim good tidings ; to admonish men and call them to holiness ; and to be, by the will of God, a shining light unto their eyes. May the blessings of the Most High be showered upon him !

I say, further, that amidst the chances of a stormy and wandering life, in which manifold tribulations have succeeded each other, the Most High, whose name be praised, has led me to cleave to the brotherhood of him who pardons the errors of the high-minded, and draws sighs from the bosoms of the envious, the Lord of lords and Leader of leaders,<sup>1</sup> Abû Abd Allah Mohammad Ibn Abi 'l Kâsim Ibn Ali,<sup>†</sup> of the house of Ali and tribe of Koreish ; may God bless him, crown with success the enterprises which He has Himself prompted him to undertake, and be his patron and his surety evermore. When he came into the world he was called to sit in high places, but was likewise warned of the snares which therein abound.<sup>2</sup> Hence his labours are directed towards

\* Koran, chap. iv., v. 23.

† See Introduction, § iv.

that which endures, not towards that which passes away. He gathers together that he may scatter abroad, not that he may lay up for himself; he dispenses his bounty for the love of God, not to obtain the praise of men; and he shows kindness as a brother to advance justice and piety, not to court affection by flattery. He adorns his chieftainship with a spirit meet for every vicissitude of fortune. He does not give ear to slanderers, neither does he suffer his coin to rust. Such is his long-suffering, that beside it wrath cannot raise its head; such the firmness of his sway, that the people under his guidance need fear no calamity. Therefore I renew my thanks to God, who has given me in this brotherly kindness a strong defence, a sure refuge, abundant pasturage, and fountains of living water.

## VERSES.

Under his protection we have all that we can wish for, love, choose, and desire.

He guards us from all that may be displeasing to us; and if anything appears desirable unto us, he hastens to let us judge of it by proof.

We lean upon him for support, as upon a father.



We have made trial of him alike in the days of good and evil fortune, and in both we have experienced his generous protection.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, I swear that if gratitude were not both a sacred tie and a social duty, I would, in order to please him, have rolled up the writing which I unfolded when the Almighty spared me the sorrow of his death, and of continuing to live when deprived of him; I would have concealed what I then set forth in order to show how ready is the gratitude for his benefits, how lasting his praise in the mouth of his faithful adherents. So may Providence not stay its hand from succouring him; so may it restrain the footsteps of calamity from overtaking him, glorify evermore through him the high places of power, and frustrate the cunning devices of his enemies. Amen. Amen.

When by the abundant seed of gifts the harvest of affection was brought forth, and gratitude raised to the highest pitch, I sought to offer him the choicest and most excellent present which might find favour in his eyes, and be suitable to his worth—nor could I find any more meet than learning, which he so ardently loves; wisdom, which he has ever fondly cherished; and literature,

which he diligently pursues, both by nature and by education, giving it a place as well in his head as in his heart.

I therefore presented him with the *Asálîb el-Ghaïah*, &c. (Paths which lead to the Goal of the true Interpretation—*of a verse of the Koran*), in which book I discoursed concerning eleven interpretations which lead to the understanding of both the positive and deductive significations of the divine saying: “O, true believers, when you prepare yourselves to pray, wash your faces and your hands unto the elbows, and rub your hands and your feet unto the ancles.” \*

I added to my gift *El-Mosanni*, &c. (Guide to the perfect Apprehension—of the *Mau’nah* and the *Ishrâf*), in which I collected together all the questions contained in these two celebrated works, accompanying such questions with the choicest answers.†

I followed these up with the *Dorer-el-Ghorer*, (Pearls for the Forehead), into which book I wove the pearls of the *Anbâ nojabâ ’l-ebná* (Notices of remarkable Children), selecting for it those most difficult to find, and which shine with the light of philosophy, or the beauty of literary form.‡

\* Koran, chap. v., v. 8.

† See Introduction, § v., No. 21.      ‡ Ibid, Nos. 8 and 22.

In the fourth place, I now offer him the present work, in which I purpose to relate certain tales hitherto monopolised by the most celebrated monarchs of the earth, who guarded them with great jealousy, not suffering them at any price to be divulged. These tales I will relate as I have heard them, seeking to elucidate them by my language, and exerting my imagination to add to their variety. Moreover, I propose to treat my subjects in such a manner that no law shall be found to prohibit my work, nor shall the ear of any be offended by it. I desire that the personages who have figured in them as new moons, should come forth resplendent as full orbs, and that those who have appeared as sapling shoots, should develop themselves into noble palm-trees, laden with fruit. I would breathe upon their countenances the spirit of their noble souls, and robe their persons in the mantle of regal bearing ; bind their temples with the garland of their lofty thoughts, and suspend from their shoulders the sword of their warlike achievements.

I shall begin each book with a few verses of the immutable revelation, and with some traditions of the Elect Prophet, with whom be peace and the blessing of the Most High. I will then produce

a few philosophical sentences on the same subject, both in prose and rhyme, the maidens and spouses of literature ; lastly, I will open a garden for the delight of the heart and ears, and an arena for the exercise of the intellect and character.

I have entitled this book *Solwân al Motà fi Odwan al Atba'* (Resources of a Prince exposed to the Hostility of his Subjects). The term "Solwân," is the plural of Solwanah, the name of a shell, concerning which the Arabs believe that if a little water be poured upon it, and given to drink to one who is in love, he will immediately recover.

The Rajiz has said :—

"Not even were I to drink the Solwân, should I obtain peace. I could not live without thee, even were I rolling in wealth." "

The resources of which I speak are five in number. Firstly, Trust in God ; secondly, Fortitude ; thirdly, Patience ; fourthly, Contentment ; fifthly, Self-denial. I look to God to grant me His aid for the attainment of my purpose, and to prosper my work, for the benefit of those who worship Him—for He alone can will and execute ; He is the high and mighty One ; power and goodness dwell in Him alone.

# S O L W Â N.

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## CHAPTER I.

### TRUST IN GOD.

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GOD, whose name be blessed, hath said: "Perchance thy soul may loathe that which God hath sent thee for thy special good." \*

And again, "Yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worse for you: but God knoweth, and ye know not." †

By these words, God seeks to restrain those who have understanding, from following their own devices; and shows his approval of those who put their faith in Him. The wise man yields up his own judgment into the hands of Him who knows the true way of salvation.

\* Koran, chap. iv., v. 23.

† Ibid, chap. ii., v. 213.

The exhortation to implicit trust contained in the two verses quoted above, will be clearly understood when we consider how frequently that which is repugnant to our inclinations serves to bring about that which we desire; and likewise the converse. It is the part of the clear-sighted, not to repose confidence in that which is evil because of the pleasure that it offers, nor to despair of that which is good because of the evil which at first sight we discern in it. He must commit the election to God, and not seek to make it himself. Such is the boundless trust which beseems him who prays to God for the removal of some calamity, or who implores his clemency under adverse fortune.

#### § II.—PHARAOH AND HIS KINSMAN.

Behold God's dealings with a believer, of the blood royal of Egypt, who put his whole trust in Him. The narrative is thus handed down to us. This Believer was a kinsman of Pharaoh, and one of his most familiar friends. In religion he was a follower of Moses; which becoming known to the viziers and the courtiers, they proceeded to give

information to the king, who, moved by the love he bore his kinsman, refused to hearken to their words. When, however, the miracles which God wrought by the hand of Moses, were beheld even in the chief city of his kingdom, Pharaoh called a council of all his viziers and courtiers, amongst whom was this Believer, and having asked their advice, they all agreed that sentence of banishment should be passed upon Moses. But after the magicians had been summoned, in order to oppose their miracles to his, it occurred to the king to rid himself of the prophet by putting him to death; of which our Lord, whose name be glorified, informs us in the following words:—

They answered, “ Put off him and his brother with fair promises for some time, and in the meanwhile send unto the cities and assemble the inhabitants, that they may bring unto thee every expert magician.”\*

And Pharaoh said, “ Let me alone, that I may kill Moses; and let him call upon his Lord. Verily I fear lest he change your religion, or cause violence to appear in the earth.”†

\* Koran, chap. vii., v. 108, 109.      † Ibid, chap. xl., v. 27.

Seeing that such was the king's pleasure, none of his ministers ventured to dissuade him, so great was the fear in which he was held. But the Believer, being grieved at the king's intention to lay hands upon Moses, lost patience, and no longer able to conceal his secret within his own bosom, exclaimed, as the Lord has revealed unto us: "Will ye put a man to death because he saith God is my Lord; seeing he is come unto you with evident signs from your Lord?" \*

He then interceded repeatedly in his behalf, admonishing the king to use caution, and to abstain from his purpose, and saying, as the Lord has written :

"If he be a liar, on him will the punishment of his falsehood light; but if he speaketh the truth, some of those judgments with which he threateneth you will fall upon you." †

When Pharaoh heard these words, he was very wrath. He cast his kinsman into prison; and having laid the matter before his viziers and courtiers, their counsel was to put him to torture and afterwards to death, as a check to those who

\* Koran, chap. xl., v. 29.

† Ibid.



might be inclined to cherish the same opinions. To this, however, Pharaoh would not consent, because the Believer was near of kin to him ; but commanded his viziers to go to him, and seek to persuade him, admonishing and entreating him to return to the obedience which he owed to the king, and lastly menacing him with the punishment which he would incur by persevering in his obstinacy. The Believer, on the other hand, having heard them, sought to win them over to the true faith, reminding them of the miracles which their own eyes had beheld, and warning them not to forfeit the blessings which God had bestowed upon them, nor to incur his displeasure ; as is revealed to us in the following words :\*

“ O my people, verily I fear for you an overthrow like that of the Ahzâb people.<sup>1</sup>

“ A condition like that of the people of Noah, and the tribes of Ad and Thamûd.

“ And of those who lived after them :<sup>2</sup>

“ O my people, verily I fear for you the day whereon men shall call unto one another :<sup>3</sup>

“ The day whereon ye shall be turned back

\* Koran, chap. xl., v. 32, 33.

from the tribunal, and driven to hell; then shall ye have none to protect you against God. And he whom God shall cause to err shall have no director.

“ Joseph came unto you before Moses, with evident signs: but ye ceased not to doubt of the religion which he preached unto you, until, when he died, ye said, ‘ God will by no means send another apostle, after him.’ Thus doth God cause him to err who is a transgressor and a sceptic.\*

“ O my people, as for me, I invite you to salvation; but ye invite me to hell fire:

“ Ye invite me to deny God, and to associate with him that whereof I have no knowledge; but I invite you to the Most Mighty, the Forgiver of Sins.

“ There is no doubt but that the false gods to which ye invite me, deserve not to be invoked, either in this world or in the next; and that we must return unto God; and that the transgressors shall be the inhabitants of hell fire;

“ And ye shall then remember what I now say unto you. And I commit my affair unto God; for God regardeth his servants.” †

\* Koran, chap. xl., v. 35, 36.

† Ibid, v. 44, 47.

The viziers and courtiers, returning to Pharaoh, related to him how the Believer persisted in his offence and disobedience, and how their admonitions had produced no other effect than to make him adhere the more obstinately to his own opinion. These tidings sorely grieved the king, so that he desired to be left alone and remained absorbed in reflection on this subject, until one of his daughters came to him, and besought him to tell her what had so disturbed him. He related to her all that had happened, and the maiden replied thus: "If it rested with me to rescue you from this perplexity, I would of a surety counsel you to refrain from injuring your most trusty friends and kindred. Doubtless, this your kinsman has no wish other than your own. But seeing how boldly Moses dares to resist the sovereign beneath whose sceptre he dwells, he perceives that it is impossible to put him to death openly, and therefore has made a pretence of professing the doctrine which thus offends you, for the sole purpose of deceiving Moses. All that you have seen and heard is but a fraud devised against Moses; and if he abstained from disclosing it to your viziers when they went to

seek him, he did so because he knew them to be utterers of calumny, and full of envy and malignity, who would never have seconded his counsel, nor aided in the execution of his purpose." When Pharaoh heard his daughter's words, he was glad, and God put it into his heart to believe them. It is said to have been Asïa, the wife of Pharaoh, who had bidden the maiden to give such counsel to her father.

Pharaoh then summoned his kinsman to his presence, showed him great honour, excused himself for his treatment of him, and said "I now know your design, and the purpose of your actions; speak, therefore, as you will, act as it may please you, for I mistrust you no longer."

And God, whose name be lauded, speaks thus :\* "Wherefore God delivered him from the evils which they had devised.

"And a grievous punishment encompassed the people of Pharaoh." †

Which signifies that God returned upon their own heads the punishment which they were minded to inflict upon the Believer. Be it here observed,

\* Koran, chap. xl., v. 48.

that temporal punishment has nothing in common with eternal punishment, saving the name. The expression quoted above is similar to this one :

“ But the contrivance of evil shall only encompass the authors thereof.” \*

Meanwhile, be it known to you, O reader, and may God show you mercy as well as unto me, that the true meaning of the word “ *tafiwid* ” (trust in others,) is implicit confidence in the wisdom of the All-wise. The Lord has clearly set it forth to his Elect in the following words :

“ Say : Nothing shall befall us but what God hath decreed for us ; he is our patron : and on God let the faithful trust.” †

The foundation of boundless faith, and the reason which should lead us to it, is the certain knowledge that nothing, whether of good or evil, can come to pass but what He wills. That man can never repose implicit trust in God who does not hold this dogma steadfastly, and with a lively faith.

\* Koran, chap. xxxv., v. 41.

† Ibid, chap. ix., v. 51.

## § III.—TRADITION CONCERNING MAHOMET.

This was a truth which the Apostle, on whom be the blessing of God, earnestly strove to set forth clearly and render conspicuous, when he thus spoke to Abd-Allah Ibn Masûd : “ Say within yourself, that which is fore-ordained will befall you, and that which is not fore-ordained will not befall you. Know, moreover, that if all created beings were to unite in the attempt to obtain for you a blessing which God had not inscribed in the book of fate, they would be unable to effect it ; and that were they to endeavour to afflict you with some evil which God had not decreed, neither would they have power to bring it to pass.” In this tradition the expression, “ say within yourself,” contains a command to trust in God ; the remainder showing the reason why men of understanding should commit themselves entirely into His hands. <sup>5</sup>

It is likewise related in the Mosnâd of Moslim, <sup>6</sup> that on one occasion the Prophet, conversing with Abû Horaira, said unto him :

“ When any unpleasant event befalls you, do

not say, 'If I had but acted thus and thus ;' say, rather, 'Such is God's decree ; may His will be done.' For the 'if' opens the breach to Satan, and assuredly does not lead either to trust in God or resignation to His will."

Every one may perceive that the Prophet forbade the expression "if," as rejecting implicit trust in God, and conducing to opposition to His decrees, and the desire of resistance to His will.

Moslim, in the book entitled *Sahîh* (the genuine), relates to us, on the authority of Bara Ibn A'zib, another of the Prophet's sayings, which is as follows:

"When thou goest to bed, perform the same ablutions as thou dost before thy prayers ; then lie down on thy right side, and say, 'Oh, my God, unto thee do I commit my soul ; unto thee do I look up with longing and fear ; with thyself alone can I find refuge from Thee. I believe in the book of thy revelation, and in thy apostle whom thou has sent :'" and so on to the end of the tradition.'

§ IV.—PHILOSOPHICAL MAXIMS, BOTH IN PROSE AND VERSE,  
CONCERNING TRUST IN GOD.

If the sick man resist his physician, he himself must bear the penalty.

He alone is shrewd and subtle who commits himself into the hands of the Almighty. For it is absurd to contend against destiny; and human diligence is one of the forces which aids the resistless course of fate.

When the issue is uncertain, thou must needs commit thyself into the hands of Him who governs destiny.

Amongst the arguments which prove man to be a passive being, subjected to rule and governance, is this, that in many cases his judgment is obscured, and he loses sight both of the right path and of the goal which he desires to attain.<sup>8</sup>

This being the case, if he follow his own guidance, he hastens to his ruin; if he trust his own cunning, it leads him to certain destruction; if he but move, he perishes.

It is said that, on one occasion, when his mind



was torn by various conflicting opinions, Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf composed the following verse :—

“ Suffer this daughter of heaven to go forth and run the way of fate, and corrupt her not by the counsels of thy foolishness.”<sup>9</sup>

I myself have sung on the same subject : “ O thou, who in moments of perplexity, wouldst trust to thine own counsel, and provide for thyself :

“ If the case be doubtful, commit it to Him who sees in it that which thou canst not see.

“ Thus shalt thou find thyself guarded by love which preserves thee from ruin, and by goodness which shortens the path before thee to the end which it has fore-ordained.

“ Seeing thou art ignorant of the end, and hast neither liberty nor power to follow thine own pleasure,

“ Why dost thou fret thyself? Of what art thou glad? What dost thou fear or desire ?”

Again, I have sung :—

“ How many are they who rejoice and are ruined ; for they have embraced a counsel which will prove their destruction !

“ How many are they who sigh for power, which

when attained, will work their misery in this world and the next !

“ The knowledge of the future is concealed by a veil which we in vain endeavour to rend.

“ He who seeks to resist destiny by cunning devices, has chosen a narrow and perilous path.

“ Be thou, therefore, like unto him who frankly believes that which is sure, and throws into his crucible the clipped coin of uncertainties ;

“ To him who holds Trust in God to be the best profession of the unitarian faith of Islam, and resistance to that which is fore-ordained to be as the guilt of Polytheism.”

§ V.—FAIR GARDEN AND EXCELLENT ARENA.—DIALOGUE BETWEEN  
THE CALIPH WALID IBN YEZID, AND A POOR COTTAGER.

Walid Ibn Yezid Ibn Abd-al-Malik,<sup>10</sup> being informed that his paternal uncle, Yezid Ibn Walid Ibn Abd-al-Malik went about alienating from him the minds of the people, and levying troops in Yemen, in order to shake the foundations of his throne, and even to attempt his life, fled from the

society of his most intimate friends, and suffered himself to be seen by none of his customary associates. One evening, when this fit of melancholy was upon him, he called one of his servants, and said to him, "Disguise yourself, and go forth from the palace, and take up your post in one of the streets, where you may carefully note the passers-by. When you see a man of mature years, of a squalid appearance, and poorly clad, walking slowly and in silence, as if absorbed in thought, come forward and greet him, and whisper in his ear, 'The Commander of the Faithful desires to see you.' If he readily complies, then bring him to me. But if he seeks to excuse himself, or hesitates, or makes difficulties, let him go and seek another, until you shall have found such a one as I have described."

The servant went forth, and presently returned to the Caliph, bringing with him precisely such a man as was required ; who, on entering the apartment in which Walid was seated, saluted him as it is customary to salute the Commander of the Faithful, and remained standing where he was until the Caliph commanded him to approach and be seated,

and began talking to him with so much condescension, that the fear which he had at first conceived was dissipated, and his spirits composed. Walid then, addressing him, inquired of him whether it gave him pleasure to hold converse with a Caliph. "Most assuredly it does, O Commander of the Faithful," replied he; upon which Walid resumed. "Since you take delight in such intercourse, tell us what you know of it, and in what it consists?" "It consists," replied he, "in discoursing to the prince when he is silent; in being silent when he speaks; and in conversing upon subjects which are suitable and not common-place."

"You have answered well," said the Caliph; "and we are satisfied with the trial we have made of you. Now, therefore, speak; and we will be silent and listen."

"There are two kinds of conversation, O Commander of the Faithful," continued the stranger; "nor can a third be added thereto. The first consists in relating that which it may be useful to know; the second, in discoursing concerning that which may tend to the furtherance of a proposed object. Now, in the capital of the Commander of

the Faithful, I have heard no tale of any description; therefore instead of a tale, I will relate a similitude, and instead of pointing out the path to the Commander of the Faithful, I will approach it, and pause upon the brink."

"It is well said," replied Walid; "we will therefore ourselves point out the path, and put you on the track in order that you may follow it up. We know that one of our subjects has risen up against our authority, and is now pursuing his purpose to our great injury and detriment. Have you heard anything of the matter?"

"Yes," replied the stranger; and Walid resumed: "Speak of it, therefore, according to your knowledge, and set it forth in whatever form you may think best."

§ VI.—ADVENTURE OF THE OMMEYAD CALIPH, ABD-AL-MALIK.

O Commander of the Faithful (began the stranger), I have heard it related that the Caliph Abd-al-Malik Ibn Marwân " having levied troops against Abd-Allah Ibn Zobair, and advancing with his army upon Mecca (may God defend it), desired to take with him Amr Ibn Saïd Ibn Aas, a

man regarded with mistrust, and suspected of cherishing sinister intentions and aspiring to the Caliphate, of which Abd-al-Malik Ibn Marwân was well aware, but had spared his life, owing to the clemency of his disposition, and in consideration of the ties of blood by which they were united. But when the Caliph, having quitted Damascus, had gone several days' journey, and was fairly engaged in the enterprise, Amr Ibn Saïd requested permission, under pretext of illness, to return to Damascus. Abd-al-Malik consented, and no sooner had Amr entered the capital, than, ascending a pulpit, he harangued the people, inveighing against the Caliph and exhorting them to depose him from the sovereignty. The people applauded the proposal, proclaimed Amr Caliph, and took the oath of allegiance to him. Having thus obtained possession of Damascus, he proceeded to fortify the walls, to make preparations for the defence of the surrounding country, to strengthen the frontiers, and to distribute largesses. Tidings of these events reached Abd-al-Malik whilst he was still on the march against Ibn Zobair, and at the same time he learnt that the Governor of Enesa had renounced his allegiance,

and that the people on the confines were on the eve of rebellion.

Having received this information, the Caliph entered the tent within which his viziers were assembled, and pointing with a wand<sup>12</sup> which he held, to the right hand and to the left, he informed them of the facts: "Here," said he, "is Damascus, the capital of our empire, already occupied by Amr Ibn Saïd; here Abd-Allah Ibn Zobair has made himself master of Hejaz, Irak, Egypt, Yemen, and Khorassan; here No'man Ibn Bashîr, Emir of Emesa; Zofr Ibn Harith, Emir of Kinnisrîn; and Nail Ibn Kais, Emir of Filistin, renounce their allegiance to me, and hail Ibn Zobair as Caliph. Meanwhile the inhabitants of the border country are vacillating, and the Egyptians girding on their swords to avenge the massacres of Marj Rahît." On hearing these words, the viziers lost all presence of mind, and being persuaded that resistance was impossible, and that no refuge remained, they hung down their heads and answered not a word.

"What ails you all," resumed the Caliph, "that you are thus struck dumb? Make haste and give me counsel, for I stand sorely in need of it at this

hour.” Then the wisest amongst them made answer: “What measures can we advise you to have recourse to in this extremity? Would to God that I were a chameleon, living in the trunk of some tree in Tehama, until these troubles be overpast.”<sup>13</sup>

Mohammad Ibn Zafer states that this chameleon is a small reptile, less than a span long, which has four feet, and a head like a calf. At sunrise it crawls upon a branch, a clod of earth, or a stone, and fixing its eyes upon the sun, contemplates it steadily without ever removing them from it, until when the sun has reached the zenith, its rays fall perpendicularly upon the head of the chameleon, which, being no longer able to gaze upon it, writhes and struggles, and strikes the roof of its mouth with its tongue as a man does when he urges on a donkey; and this it continues to do until the sun begins to decline. Then the chameleon, turning round to the other side, again fixes its eyes upon it until it sinks below the horizon; and when it can no longer behold it, goes forth to seek its pasture during the night, recommencing the same manœuvre the following day. The vizier would



have liked to be even as this chameleon, in order to escape from the impending civil wars.

Perceiving from this answer that he could hope for no assistance from his viziers, Abd-al-Malik commanded them to remain where they were, and went away. He immediately mounted his horse alone, giving orders that a squadron of the bravest and most experienced of his horsemen should arm themselves, mount, and follow him sufficiently closely to see any sign which he might make. In this guise he left the camp, the escort following him as he had directed.

Abd-al-Malik rode on until he came up with an infirm old man, clad in sorry garments, who was employed in gathering sumac. Having greeted him, and entered into discourse by making some observations on trifling subjects, the Caliph inquired of him at length whether he knew anything concerning the position of the army. "They are encamped in such a place," replied the old man; "thus much I know." "And have you heard," resumed the Caliph, "what people say of the expedition?" "What is that to you?" answered the old man; to which the

Caliph returned: "I have a mind to follow the army, enlist in it, and seek my fortune." "Is it possible!" exclaimed the old man, "so cleanly and richly attired as I behold you, and of high rank as you appear to be! Moreover, why should you ask my advice concerning that which you have already made up your mind to do?" "Indeed, I have great need of it," replied Abd-al-Malik; and the old man resumed: "Well, then, you must give up this plan, to which you have taken so great a fancy, for the prince, whose service you desire to enter, is come to such a pass that his power is crumbling away, his followers disbanding, and all his affairs becoming involved in confusion. And a falling monarch is like a tempest-tost sea: best seen from afar."

"Old man," replied the Caliph, "there is no consideration of prudence sufficiently powerful to restrain me, when once a desire has taken possession of my soul. I feel myself irresistibly attracted to follow the fortunes of this prince, and follow them I must. Meanwhile, you would do me a favour if you would tell me what, in your

opinion, are the steps the Caliph ought to take in the present crisis of his fortunes. I could suggest to him your counsel, which might serve me as a recommendation, and perhaps afford me the means of ingratiating myself with him."

"There are disasters," rejoined the old man, "in which the wisdom and power of God close every possible way of escape against the intellect of man. But the misfortune which has befallen the Caliph does not appear to me such as to defy human wisdom to apply a remedy, or human counsels to bring it to a prosperous conclusion. Moreover, as you have enquired of me, I should be sorry to disappoint your expectation. I will therefore give you an answer such as you desire, although I do not repose entire confidence in my own judgment, for the case is one of great danger, and the remedy to be applied is therefore of equal importance."

"Speak, and may God requite you," exclaimed Abd-al-Malik; "even as I trust that He will aid you and put you in the right way, and lead me to safety by your means."

"The Caliph," resumed the old man, "is gone

forth to make war upon his enemy ; but it has since become evident that this undertaking is contrary to the will of God. And that which proves that God does not behold with favour the war against Ibn Zobair is that he has stayed the advance of the Caliph by causing a rebellion to break out in the very heart of his empire, where Amr Ibn Saïd has dared to assume his seat, to seduce away his people, and to seize upon his treasure and even upon the throne of the Caliphs. I therefore would advise you to investigate minutely the position of the prince, and wait to see what he will do. If you see him pursue his enterprise and persist in his design of attacking Ibn Zobair, then know that he will not succeed ; and fly from him, since he must inevitably fail, if, God having signified His will to him by a sign to withhold him from the pursuance of his undertaking, he nevertheless persists in it only the more obstinately. But if you see him turn back and give up the enterprise, then hope that he will escape ; for he will thus show himself both penitent and anxious to amend. And God, whose name be praised, is wont to forgive the sins of those who

implore His pardon, and to have mercy on those who return to Him."

"But does it not come to the same," interrupted Abd-al-Malik, "whether the Caliph returns to Damascus or continues his march against Ibn Zobair? Is not the will of God as clearly shown by the alienation of his subjects at Damascus, and by their stretching forth their hands to swear fealty to another? Surely it is the same thing, whether he goes forward against Ibn Zobair, or turns back against Amr Ibn Saïd, for both the one and the other have strengthened themselves with the power of a mighty kingdom and of a subject people."

"You do not perceive," replied the old man, "the wide difference that exists between these two cases, and which I will now explain to you. Abd-al-Malik, in advancing against Ibn Zobair, does so in the character of an unjust aggressor, because the latter never swore allegiance to him, nor has he attacked any country belonging to him. But in advancing against Amr Ibn Saïd, on the contrary, he appears in the light of the injured party, Amr having broken his oath of fealty, abused the confidence reposed in him by the Caliph, turned

away his subjects from him by exciting them to rebellion and treason, and assaulted the capital of a kingdom which belonged neither to him nor to his forefathers, but to Abd-al-Malik and his ancestors. Hence, Amr Ibn Saïd is a usurper, and ravisher of the sovereign power, and it is said that:—

“ ‘ He that has become fat through rapine shall waste away ; he who rules by treachery shall be expelled ; the army of the unrighteous shall be defeated, and the nose of tyranny shall be broken.’

“ I will now relate to you a parable which shall be as a medicine to your soul to dispel its doubts, and will insert into it sundry philosophical epigrams, which may sharpen your intellects, arouse your mind, and discover the face of truth.”<sup>14</sup>

#### § VII.—THE TWO FOXES.

It is related that a fox, called Zâlim (the Wicked), was possessed of a hole in which he dwelt in great ease and comfort, for one more commodious could not have been found. But going out one day in quest of food, on his return he found it occupied by a serpent. Zâlim, therefore, sat down to wait for its departure, but waited in vain, and

at length he perceived that the noxious animal had appropriated the hole as its own dwelling; for the serpent has no lair of its own, and is therefore accustomed to enter the dwellings of other animals, take possession of them, and drive away the owners.

Thus the Rajiz, seeking to illustrate the injustice of some wicked man, writes :

Thou art as the viper which burroweth not, but seeketh out some careless one, and establisheth itself in his den."

And hence comes the proverb : "Such a one is more wicked than a serpent ;" and the serpent's wickedness is this.

Seeing that the snake had taken up its abode in his hole, and not being able to share it with him, the fox went in search of some other shelter, and wandered about until he came in sight of a hole of very inviting appearance, excavated in a firm soil, in the midst of a fertile country, abounding with trees, and watered by numerous rivulets. Zâlim, struck with admiration, inquired to whom this hole belonged, and was told that it was owned by a fox named Mufawwâd (trusting in God), who had inherited it from his father. Zâlim then having

called Mufawwâd, the latter came forth to meet him, received him with great courtesy, and inviting him into his hole, asked him what he wanted. Zâlim, thereupon related his adventures, lamenting over the misfortune that had befallen him, and Mufawwâd moved to compassion, thus addressed him :

“I think that you ought not to abstain from attacking your enemy, but should use every effort in order to drive him out, and put him to death.”

Thus it was said :

“He who suspects his enemy is almost as far advanced as he who leads forth an army against him.

“Cunning often obtains the victory over a powerful tribe.

“Moreover there is a proverb which says: It is better to die in the fire, than to live in dishonour.<sup>15</sup>

“But if you would employ force against your enemy, do not attack him, unless you know him to be weaker than yourself; and if you would employ fraud against him, never esteem him too mighty for you, whatever may be his power.

“Therefore, my advice is, that you should come



with me to your former dwelling, of which you have been deprived by violence, and that you should let me examine it carefully. Perhaps I may be able to devise some stratagem by which you can recover possession of it."

"It was said: that the best measures are those grounded upon mature deliberation.

"It was also said: that all enterprises are ruined by three causes: first, if the design be imparted to many people, because then it is divulged, and fails; secondly, if those in the secret be rivals or envious of one another, because in that case love and hatred enter in, and everything is spoiled; thirdly, if the direction of the enterprise be assumed by one who has not been on the spot from the first, rather than by one who has conducted the commencement of it in person; because then the old leader will be jealous and envious of the new one, and the shaft will fall wide of its mark. Lastly, if a man regulates any undertaking according to hear-say, he will build upon possibilities; but if he regulates it according to what he sees with his own eyes, he will build upon certainties."

The two foxes went together towards Zâlim's

hole, and Mufawwâd having examined it minutely, and seen all that he required, turned to Zâlim, saying: "I have seen enough to enable me to devise a stratagem, and to perceive the enemy's weak point."<sup>16</sup> "What, then, do you think we ought to do?" asked Zâlim; and his friend made answer: "The counsel devised at first sight is of all the most worthless.

"It was said that counsel is the mirror of the intellect; if, therefore, thou wouldst know the capacity of any one, ask a counsel of him.

"The best counsel is that which has been proved by reflection, and adopted after mature deliberation.

"If counsel be the sword of wisdom, and if that sword be the keenest which has been sharpened with the nicest care and of which the blade has been the most diligently polished, then surely the counsel which has been the most frequently discussed and the longest weighed will be better than any other.

"It was likewise said: the counsel of which the mind is delivered without having suffered the pains of labour for a whole night, is abortive.

“Come with me, therefore, and lodge with me this night, which I will pass in reflecting upon all the stratagems which I can call to mind.”

They did so; and while Mufawwâd was taxing his brains, Zâlim busied himself in minutely examining the dwelling of his host. It appeared to him so spacious, so well situated and defended, and so abounding in comforts and conveniences, that, becoming more and more attracted by it, he was seized with an earnest desire to possess himself of it, and began, on his side, to devise some stratagem by which he might attain his wish, and drive away Mufawwâd.

It was said: that the base man is like fire, which, if you feed it, blazes up; and like wine, which makes a prey of him who loves it, and a slave of him who follows after it.

Natural malignity cannot be conquered by benefits.

He is a wise man who places trial before intimacy; examination before choice; confidence before love.

On the morrow, Mufawwâd, turning to Zâlim, said: “I have noticed that your hole is situated at

too great a distance from trees and cultivated ground; give it up, therefore, take heart, and I will help you to dig another in this pleasant and fruitful neighbourhood." "That is impossible," replied Zâlim; "for such is my disposition, that were I to leave my native place I should die of grief, and that although I might find a resting-place, I should not therefore obtain rest."

It was said: that a well-conditioned mind is shown by seven qualities—filial piety, love of kindred, love of country, the wish to live quietly in one's own house, self-reproach for youth wasted in vain, the habit of wearing worn-out clothes, and patient endurance of the evils and infirmities of age.

It was said, likewise: the exile is in a state of living death; the shadow remains, but the man is gone.<sup>17</sup>

To these words of Zâlim, Mufawwâd<sup>18</sup> probably answered thus: "He who gives a counsel ought to be acquainted with the circumstances of him who asks it; for otherwise it might tend only to greater evil; even as if a physician should prescribe the proper remedy for a given complaint without knowing the age and constitution of the patient,

or the diet and medicines to which he is accustomed ; and without taking into account the immediate causes of the illness, the time of year, and the air of the neighbourhood. Lastly, when the physician is persuaded that he has hit upon the proper remedy, it remains for him to proportion its strength to that of the disease.

“ Now, it is by no means impossible that if your disposition corresponds with your name, ‘ the Wicked,’ you may now be suffering the penalty of some sin, or of some oppression that you have practised towards others. If it be so, your anxiety to escape from your present distress would not be more successful than the struggles of a wild beast which, finding itself caught in a net, begins to scratch it furiously with its claws, and by this means only becomes more entangled, or even brings about its own death, which perhaps the hunter had not intended, desiring only to take it alive. But even if you are not suffering the punishment of any misdeed, your case is still a doubtful one ; and in doubtful cases there is no better way than to commit oneself into the hands of Him who alone decrees and knows them thoroughly, and

who manifests His wisdom by bringing them to pass.

And now I will relate to you a fable, in which you may both enjoy the beauty of elegant diction, and gather the fruit of mature philosophy ; and, in truth, fable, which is so easily divulged, attracts our minds as with the force of a magnet ; for allegories have a greater power of touching us to the quick than the maxims derived from them, and recur more frequently to our ears and tongues, even as the eye often fixes itself more readily upon a painting than upon the original object.<sup>19</sup> For a like reason, we are more willing to listen to the language attributed to brutes than to the quoted sayings of the men of greatest genius.

§ VIII.—THE PEACOCK AND THE COCK.

It is related, whether it be true or false,<sup>20</sup> that a man who was well versed in the maladies of fowls, and in the modes of curing them, had two pea-fowls, a cock and a hen, of which the former was named Zîbrij (the Many-coloured). Their master, who set great store by them both, and was in the habit of frequently caressing them, perceived one

day, on examining the plumage of Zîbrij, that it was losing its colour, which was to him a certain token of impending illness. He knew, also, that the illness might be counteracted and cured by robbing Zîbrij of the principal feathers of his wings, removing him from the company of the hen, diminishing his allowance of food, and infusing a drug of a very bitter flavour into everything which he either ate or drank. These measures being put into operation, Zîbrij gave way to rage and despair.

It was said: impatience of the evils which befall us is blindness to the blessings which are left.

Impatience of calamity is, in fact, a third misfortune—a third, because he who is impatient, loses the merit of his tribulation in the eyes of God, and, in the meantime, irritates himself, by his own struggles; so that he is the victim of three evils at once.

Zîbrij, being thus isolated, saw a cock of the name of Hinzâb, who belonged to the same master and was one of the most beautiful of his kind, both as to form and as to the colour of his plumage, crowing

and disporting himself. This sight increased the discontent of Zîbrij, and what marvel is it if God, amidst the abundance of his miracles, should have granted intellect and wisdom to these two animals, as he did once to the lapwing of Solomon<sup>21</sup> with whom be peace? It is, therefore, by no means impossible that Zîbrij may have said to Hinzâb: "You, who can enjoy your liberty, have you the heart to feel for an unhappy creature, who is separated from his companion, whose wings have been clipped, and whose food is poisoned every day? If you pity his misfortunes, and will listen to his complaints, you might, perhaps, give him comfort, and devise for him some means of escape."

"And what should hinder my doing so?" replied Hinzâb. "Do I not know that, amongst all the deeds that spring from a generous spirit, kindness to the afflicted is that which finds most favour in the eyes of God?"

It was said: that we are all united in a mutual bond of insurance against the misfortunes that may befall any individual;<sup>22</sup> and amongst those who are at ease, the most prosperous will be he



who regards as his own the calamity that befalls his neighbour, and who benefits him, first by relieving him from his distress, and afterwards by admonishing him to avoid a repetition of his fault and consequent return of the misfortune; so that the sufferer should always be grateful to him, and should be careful not to fall a second time into adversity.

It is said, that the value of good is never appreciated at the moment of its attainment and possession, but rather after it is lost, and we desire it in vain. And how, indeed, can we feel properly thankful for it until we are acquainted with its worth?

It is said, that a man will never be grateful for benefits, in the four following cases: if he already enjoys them; <sup>23</sup> if, by their means, he is able to throw off his subjection to his benefactor; if he hears too much said about them; and if he knows himself unable to requite them with any adequate return.

Hinzâb continued: "In the first place, it is our duty to recognise the superiority of man, ennobled as he is by the gift of intellect and

the dignity of wisdom, and to acknowledge his right to exercise authority and dominion over us; and that it is but justice that for our faults he should do to us that which displeases us, or that, even without any fault of ours, he, who knows what he is about, should exert his power."

"What you say is true," replied Zîbrij.

"Do you remember having committed any fault?" resumed the cock. "No—never," said Zîbrij; to which Hinzâb returned, "If the acknowledgment you uttered just now of your master's authority were sincere, you ought to submit yourself to him, and to give up all thoughts of resistance."

It is said, that if the slave be angry at his lord's commands, he thereby denies his authority, and makes an effort to escape from the station in which he is placed; in the same manner that to be indignant at the sentence of a judge, is to accuse him either of tyranny or of ignorance.

He is not sincere in his allegiance who does not willingly submit to an act of justice on the part of his superior,<sup>24</sup> which is painful to himself.

“Listen,” continued Hinzâb, “to a tale which may, perhaps, relieve your mind, and lead you to hope and to contentment.”

§ IX.—THE TWO VIZIERS.

It is related that a certain king had two viziers, both of them honest and faithful; one of whom, a devout man, was used to exercise himself in works of benevolence, in the practices of piety, and in abstinence from many of the unbridled desires of the flesh. These two viziers were scarcely ever agreed, so that the king being much annoyed by their differences, saw himself compelled to dismiss one of them; and in order to determine which it should be, he devised the following expedient. Having found a house in which was a hiding-place that could not be detected, he commanded one of his most trusty servants to conceal himself in it; and having informed him that he was about there to imprison the two viziers, bade him give good heed to all their words and actions. He then had the two viziers suddenly seized, and conducted to that house, of which he caused the door to be walled up, leaving only a little window through

which food and drink could be supplied to the prisoners. The first day passed without either of them having uttered a syllable to the other. But, in the evening, the least devout of the two asked his companion: "How do you feel?" And the devout one replied: "I have confidence in destiny, and commit myself into the hands of Him who foreordains all things, whose holy name be praised." "I, on the contrary," resumed the first speaker, "feel my blood boil within me, and cannot rest in peace. For what cause, think you, has this misfortune befallen us?" "I have reviewed the whole of my conduct," answered the devout vizier, "and I cannot see that I have fallen into any error as regards the king, which could have displeased him. As regards the army and the people, I have committed two kinds of injustice; that is, I have always defended the people against the soldiers, and I have also made every exertion to satisfy the latter.<sup>25</sup> Lastly, I find my sins against God to be innumerable, although I have never failed to examine my conscience daily, both morning and night, and then to repent me of my faults, implore the forgiveness of God, and make every effort in my power to

expiate them. It appears to me, therefore, that I am now enduring the punishment of my sins against the Lord my God." "And I, on the other hand," replied his companion, "believe that I have been calumniated by such a one from envy of my influence with the king. What think you?" "I think," replied the devout vizier, "that both you and I ought to strive after resignation to God's ordinances, and confidence in his good pleasure ; for this our calamity is a mystery, which if our intellect seeks to penetrate, it will only grope in darkness, and will never succeed in doing so." "Nonsense !" responded the other ; " many better plans than that have occurred to me, but the only one which suits me is to write to the king, offering to give up to him all my substance, on condition that I am set at liberty, so that I may remain undisturbed in my own house to worship the Lord my God." " That would be a very undesirable expedient," replied the devout vizier, " for it would give rise to many suspicions—it would open the path of injustice before the king, and would be to despair of the grace of God."

They spoke no more that night ; and on the

morrow a single loaf was brought to them. "Eat," said the devout vizier to his companion. "Not I," replied he; "I am afraid of being poisoned." "And I," said the other, "will take my share, and commit myself to God." Then taking one half of the loaf, and beginning to eat, what should he find in it but a magnificent ruby! The second night passed, and at day-break a loaf was again brought to them of which the devout vizier took the half and found in it another gem; and on the third day, the same thing happened. The king then released them from prison, and his servant informed him of all that had passed; upon which he sent for the viziers, and questioned them closely as to their words and actions in the prison. They both told him the truth; and the devout one, producing the gems, added, "I found these in my food, but it is not right that I should appropriate another's share." "By my faith," replied the prince, "it is God who has deprived him of them, and has provided them for you as a reward of your trust in Him. These gems alone were in the loaves, and I merely wished to ascertain, by experiment, what each of you would do when his own

interests were at stake. I have thus discovered that your companion is possessed by devils, and infested with evil thoughts concerning his Maker, against whom he rebels ; while he suspects me of a design to tyrannise over him, to despoil him of his substance, and to poison him. You, on the other hand, speedily resigned yourself, without striving to discover what steps could be taken in a case of which you neither knew the cause nor the true circumstances; thus, you surrendered yourself into the hands of God, and in all your conjectures never sought to blame any one but yourself. I perceive that the Lord has chosen you to be our support, and has pointed you out as the only one worthy to fill our place, and to enjoy our favour. Give thanks to Him, who has been your guide, trust him more and more in the season of calamity, and commit yourself into His hands in the doubtful events of life.”

Thus the king took him to be his only vizier, and sent away the other in dismal plight.

§ X.—CONCLUSION OF THE FABLE OF THE PEACOCK AND THE  
COCK.

Zîbrij having heard this tale, submitted himself implicitly to his master, whose will he had resisted, being displeased with his measures; and thus his irritation being appeased, and his malady giving way before the efficacy of the remedies applied, his master restored to him the abundance, the pleasures, and the companionship, he had formerly enjoyed.

§ XI.—CONCLUSION OF THE FABLE OF THE TWO FOXES.<sup>26</sup>

Perceiving Zâlim's great desire to return to his own country, Mufawwâd thus addressed him: "It is my advice that we should both go this very day and collect wood, which we will make into two faggots. When it is night, I will run to one of the tents in this neighbourhood to fetch a lighted brand, and, with it and the wood, we will proceed to your hole, into the mouth of which we will thrust the two faggots and set fire to them; then, if the serpent endeavours to come out,



it will be burnt, and if it stays within, it will be killed by the smoke."

"Very good ; that will do perfectly," replied Zâlim. They therefore set to work, gathered together as much wood as they could carry, and at night, when the people in the tents lighted their fires, Mufawwâd went to steal a brand. Zâlim, meanwhile, seizing one of the faggots, carried it to a spot where he thought it would be concealed, and then dragged the other one to Mufawwâd's dwelling, which, having entered, he drew the faggot towards him till he got it wedged in the mouth of the den. He thought that Mufawwâd, on returning, would thus be unable to enter, and that the hole being very strong, and the mouth securely closed with the faggot, if he tried to force an entrance he would find the enterprise beyond his strength, and at length, despairing of success, would desist and seek to provide himself with another dwelling. Zâlim also counted upon a store of provisions laid up by Mufawwâd for his own use, and which he had seen in the hole, for his support so long as the siege should continue. Thus his wickedness and malignant covetousness

prevented him from perceiving the folly of the step he had taken, and from understanding that he was exposing himself to the same fate which Mufawwâd had destined for the serpent.

It was said: Guard thyself from thine own designs against thine enemy, as carefully as from his against thyself.

Many are they who have perished in the attacks and ambuscades planned by themselves; many a one has fallen into the well that he digged with his own hands, or has wounded himself with his own weapons.

Mufawwâd returning with the brand, and not finding Zâlim, fancied at first that, in order to save him trouble, the latter had laden himself with both the faggots, believing himself able to bear the burden, and had with them taken the way that led to his den. Touched by this proof of delicacy, Mufawwâd endeavoured to overtake Zâlim, in order to assist him; he therefore flung down the brand, but fearing lest the wind should make it burn away, and oblige him to go in quest of another, he placed it in the mouth of his hole for shelter. By this means coming in contact

with the wood, the faggot caught fire, and Zâlim, entrapped in his own snare, was burned within the den.

Mufawwâd, perceiving the event, exclaimed: "I have never seen weapon which injures those who wield it so severely as does injustice. Hence it is said that the unjust man goes of his own accord in search of the knife which is to slay him, and his own feet bear him to the brink of the abyss into which his evil conduct will precipitate him."

It was said: Sovereignty and injustice cannot sit together upon a throne, which they shall not presently leave vacant.

Every sinner will find one to pardon him, except the unjust in whose fall all rejoice with one accord.

Lastly, it was said: As much as injustice gives thee, so much does it take from thee.

Having waited until the fire was burnt out, Mufawwâd entered into his den, threw out the carcase of Zâlim, and continued to dwell there in wakefulness and vigilance, being always on his guard against the artifices of traitors.

## § XII.—END OF THE ADVENTURE OF ABD-AL-MALIK.

“Now this history,” resumed the old man, “closely resembles the revolt of Amr Ibn Saïd, in respect of his injustice, of his treachery against Abd-al-Malik, and of his having entered into the capital of the Caliph, and strengthened himself there during his absence. But Abd-al-Malik, in advancing to make war against Ibn Zobair, does the very thing to increase the strength of Amr Ibn Saïd, and to leave the sovereignty to his family, while wresting it from Ibn Zobair. For the power of Abd-al-Malik is henceforward the power of Amr, and his kingdom the kingdom of Amr, who on his side neither looks with favour upon this campaign of Abd-al-Malik, nor assists him in it, although it would turn to his own ultimate advantage. Thus he is acting as Zâlim acted toward Mufawwâd.”

Abd-al-Malik having understood the parable, and reflected on the moral it contained, was greatly pleased. “You may reckon upon a handsome reward from me,” said he to the old man, “for you

have already acquired much influence over me. Consider this, therefore, as an agreement between us ; and do not fail to remind me of it a few days hence, that I may acquit myself of my obligation."

"I do not understand," replied the old man. And Abd-al-Malik returned: "I hope that your counsel will do me good service with the Caliph, and that I shall then be able to reward the assistance for which I acknowledge myself indebted to you."

"And I," retorted the old man, "make a vow to God that I will never pray for one who is avaricious." "How do you know that I am avaricious?" asked Abd-al-Malik. "Can you be otherwise," was the reply, "if you delay giving me this present and reward when it is in your power to do so at once? What should prevent you from bestowing upon me some of the costly weapons and garments that you wear?" "By God, I had not thought of that!" answered the Caliph; and, ungirding his sword: "Take this," said he, and you will be no loser by it, for it is worth twenty thousand dirhems."<sup>27</sup> "No, I accept no gifts from the oblivious," said the old man; "let me go, for my Lord God is sufficient for me, He who neither

grudges nor forgets." The Caliph, perceiving by these words the sincere piety of his companion, exclaimed, "I am Abd-al-Malik; depend upon me, and tell me what you want." "Unhappy that we are, oh, Abd-al-Malik," cried the old man; "let us both hasten to lay our wants before Him whom we both serve." The Caliph then departing, followed the old man's counsel, and well was it for him that he did so.

§ XIII.—CONCLUSION OF THE DIALOGUE OF WALID.

Walid Ibn Yezid having heard this discourse, was much struck with the talent and varied erudition of the stranger, and enquired of him his name; which having heard, and finding it otherwise unknown to him, the Caliph was overcome with shame. "Assuredly," said he, "that prince must be walking in darkness who has among his subjects a man like you, and is not aware of it." "Oh, Commander of the Faithful," replied the stranger, "those only are known to kings who present themselves before them, and station themselves at their gates." "In God's name," resumed

the Caliph, "seek not to offer for us excuses which we do not merit." He then gave him a costly present, made out a written order enabling him to appear at court at all times, and received the counsels dictated by his wisdom and experience with great attention, until that befell him which is known to every one.

§ XIV.—FAIR GARDEN AND EXCELLENT ARENA. AL MAMÛN,  
AND THE OLD PERSIAN.

It is related that when the Commander of the Faithful, Mohammad al-Amîn,<sup>28</sup> desired to despoil his brother, Abd-Allah al-Mamûn, then Governor of Khorassan, of his succession to the Caliphate, he wrote him a letter informing him that he had need of his presence in order to confide to him the conduct of an affair of great importance, and requiring him therefore to set out immediately for Bagdad, leaving in his stead, in Khorassan, a man capable of governing the province with a firm hand. At the same time, the spies that Al-Mamûn employed in the capital, wrote him word that Al-Amîn wished to deprive him of the succession,

and to declare his own son, Mûsa, <sup>29</sup> presumptive heir of the Caliphate. Having received both these letters, Al-Mamûn took counsel with his viziers, who advised him to endeavour to amuse the Caliph, and gain time by pretexting the vast extent of the territory of Khorassan, surrounded as it was by infidel nations constantly on the watch for an opportunity of attacking it ; and lastly, by pleading that he did not know whom to trust in his stead. Al-Mamûn having replied in these terms to his brother, Al-Amîn wrote again to hasten his coming, adding that he would detain him but a very short time at Bagdad, and only required him in order that he might be able to follow his counsel in a matter of such moment that he could not commit it to writing. Al-Mamûn showed these letters also to his viziers, and having consulted them as to what he should do, they had nothing new to suggest ; Al-Mamûn replied, therefore, to much the same effect as before. Meanwhile, the spies that Al-Amîn employed in Khorassan sent him word in their turn that Al-Mamûn, perceiving the snare, was prepared to repel force by force, and maintained an attitude of defence, all his viziers agree-



ing with him as to the expediency of resistance. Al-Amîn, therefore, despairing of being able to ensnare his brother, cast into prison as many of the household of Al-Mamûn, and of his partisans and friends, as were in Bagdad, and seized upon whatever he could find of his substance.

When Al-Mamûn received intelligence of these proceedings, he was much troubled, and again summoned a council of his viziers, who with one accord persisted in the advice they had given from the first, and encouraged him to stand his ground firmly and wait for better days. He followed their counsel ; and Al-Amîn, finding his brother so determined upon resistance, without further delay summoned his subjects to do homage to his infant son, to which they all consented, and swore fealty to Mûsa, who received the surname of Nâtik bi'l Hakk (who speaks according to Eternal Truth), whereas, as some learned men have observed, he could speak neither truth nor falsehood. Al-Amîn committed the education of his child to Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Mâhân, who had been for a long time Governor of Khorassan, and, having used the people well and ingratiated himself with the nobles by his liberality, still re-

tained a considerable party in the country. This man having been questioned by the Caliph as to the state of Khorassan, gave him ample information on the subject, and concluded by saying that if he, Ali, had gone thither, not two men would have been found there who would have refused to obey him. Al-Amîn thereupon named him Governor of Khorassan, and of all the other countries which he should occupy; entrusted to him large sums of money, with the greater part of his forces, and arms and ammunition as much as he desired.

Being apprised of these preparations, Al-Mamûn hesitated, deeming that he had not sufficient force to make head against Ali Ibn Isa. Having mounted his horse to proceed to one of his country houses where his viziers were assembled to deliberate upon the measures to be adopted in this emergency, there presented himself before him, a decrepit old man who was by birth a Persian and by religion a Magian,<sup>30</sup> and demanded justice of him, in Persian, for some wrong that he had received. Moved to compassion by his advanced age, Al-Mamûn commanded that he should be mounted, and should follow in his train to the place whither

he was going, where he should be brought into his presence without further permission being required.

When, therefore, Al-Mamûn had established himself with his viziers in the hall of council, the old man was conducted thither, and the prince caused him to sit down upon the cushions. Then, turning to his counsellors, he informed them of the steps taken by Al-Amîn, of the imprisonment of his adherents, of the seizure of his property, and of the mission of Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Mâhân. Al-Mamûn believed that the old man did not understand Arabic, and that, moreover, being oppressed by age and anxiety concerning his own affairs, he would not have cared to listen to those that occupied the council. The viziers, on their part, seeing that Al-Mamûn entertained no suspicion of this stranger, introduced the subject which they were assembled to discuss.

The question, what measures should be taken, being now debated at length, one of the viziers said: "For my part, I think that we ought to levy foreign troops to whom this Ali Ibn Isa is unknown, and to confront him with them."

“I think,” said another, turning to Al-Mamûn, “that you ought instantly to send off express messengers to ask the pardon of the Caliph, and to submit yourself to his will to-day, looking for the help of God to-morrow; for if it is obvious to every one that you are compelled by force to yield your right to the succession, you will have an incontestable proof upon which to rest the assertion of your claims whenever you may be able to attempt it.”<sup>31</sup>

“My advice,” said a third, “is, that you should assemble all your faithful partisans,<sup>32</sup> and, in order to obviate their scruples, should lead them to the attack of some one of the infidel kingdoms around us, where, if we combat resolutely, we may hope that God will give us the victory. When we have thus made ourselves masters of a powerful state, which will serve us as a sure refuge, all those who incline to our party, in the empire of the Caliph, will gather themselves to us, and we shall be able to maintain ourselves and continue the holy war, until the high purpose of God shall be accomplished.”<sup>33</sup>

Another said: “Let us shut ourselves up in

some fortress, in which we can defend ourselves, and await our opportunity."

Lastly, another suggested: "In my opinion, O Emir, the best plan would be to take refuge with the King of the Turks, and to ask him for protection and assistance against a false and treacherous brother. Do not all princes act thus when they are menaced by dangers from which they perceive no escape?"

This expedient pleased Al-Mamûn much at first sight; and he was about to adopt it, but that he paused to reflect. "Shall I, then," exclaimed he, "be the first to open a path to the Turks to make war upon the Mussulmans?" and, having desired his counsellors to leave him, they all rose from their seats.

Al-Mamûn, then turning towards the spot where the old Persian was seated and perceiving him, made him a sign to approach, and, calling an interpreter, enquired with much kindness, who he was, and what he wanted. The old man, however, replied in Arabic thus: "Oh, Emir, I came hither on business of my own; but I have found here other business of more importance, and more

worthy of attention." To which Al-Mamûn returned : " Speak freely of all that is in your mind, according to the rules of learning." " O Emir," resumed the old man, " when I presented myself before you, I could by no means have been numbered amongst those who loved you ; but since then God has filled my heart with great affection towards you.

" It is said that affection is of three kinds. The first, and most comprehensive, which embraces both the inward and outward man, is that which springs from our origin, namely, love to God, the Maker and Creator of all things. The second is the result of benefits, namely, that which is felt towards a benefactor. The third is the offspring of coincidence, and is of two kinds ; the first is friendship, closely resembling original love, in that it embraces the inward and outward man ; and the second is the love of the subject for his sovereign, and of the slave for his master.

" Now, be it known to you, O Emir, whom I pray God to exalt, that I feel myself bound to you by three kinds of affection ; that which embraces

the inward and outward man, that which springs from benefits received, and that which arises from coincidence. If you will accept my affection, fulfil my hope, gratify my desire, clothe me with the mantle of your confidence, and honour me with the privilege of being numbered amongst your intimate friends, you will do so out of pure generosity, and without having any need of me; yet your servant hopes to be able to requite your benefits by his gratitude, and your condescension by his sincere affection and truthful counsels."

"What religion do you profess?" enquired the Emir. "I am a Magian," replied the old man. Then seeing Al-Mamûn bend his head and ponder upon his words: "Do not scorn me, O Emir," continued he, "either on account of the lowliness of my station, or of the abhorrence in which you hold my faith."

"It was said: Never refuse a partisan; for, be he whom he may, he will be able to serve you. He can be no other than a noble or a man of low degree; if the former, he will be an ornament to your dignity; if the latter, he will defend your life and substance.

"Moreover, when I spoke of my station as

base with respect to you, I did not mean this to apply either to my character or to my origin. As to my character it rests with you, O Emir, to test it whenever you please; and as to my origin, know that I am a Brahmin, of the race of Brahmân, Prince of the Kings of Persia, and holding an intermediate place between them and the Great First Cause.<sup>34</sup> My word were merely intended to express that my religion may appear contemptible in your eyes, and that I live under the yoke of vassallage, and as a tributary in an inferior station.”<sup>35</sup>

“We feel no aversion towards you,” replied the Emir, “and if you choose to pass from this condition of vasallage into our religion, we will find a colour which you may bear.”<sup>36</sup> “From my heart I desire that which you propose,” replied the old man, “yet will I not do this at present; at a later period perhaps I may. In the meanwhile, if you will permit me to discourse upon the subject which, you just now discussed with your counsellors, I may be able to tell you something concerning it.”

“Say on,” replied Al-Mamûn; and he continued :—

“I have listened, O Emir, to all the counsels of



your viziers. They have striven to hit the mark, but none of their suggestions have satisfied me."

"Let me hear yours, then," said Al-Mamûn; to which the old man replied, "Amongst the maxims which my forefathers received from their ancestors, I find this one :

"That the prudent man, when threatened by a danger so great that he is of himself unable to avert it, ought to commit himself with a steadfast mind to the wisdom of Him who divides his portion to every man, without therefore giving up that which belongs to him, but rather using his utmost efforts to defend it. Thus, if he does not obtain the victory, he will at least secure himself from blame."

"Old man," interrupted Mamûn, "it is said that he who knows not the truth, cannot give counsel.<sup>37</sup> We have granted you our confidence without knowing you by experience; and this, not because we would neglect the dictates of prudence, but because we would give you a mark of our favour by speaking openly to you in pledge of our acceptance of your offer. We will now tell you, therefore, that the man sent forth against us, Ali Ibn

Isa Ibn Mâhân, has more power in this country than ourselves; and that, moreover, if we would, we could not possibly make head against him, as the necessary funds are wanting."

"O Emir," replied the old man, "you must banish all these ideas from your mind, and give no heed to those who have suggested them.

"It is said: He who has waxed great by injustice shall not increase.<sup>38</sup> He who strengthens himself by malice shall not stand fast. He who is raised to the throne by violence shall not reign.

"I will now relate to you the history of one who reaped advantages which, if his example fits your case, you may likewise obtain."

"Relate it," said Al-Mamûn; and the old man continued :

§ XV.—THE KING OF THE WHITE HUNS AND FIRUZ,  
KING OF PERSIA.

Khush-nawaz, King of the Hephthalites,<sup>39</sup> purposing to set at liberty Firûz, son of Yezdejird and King of Persia, whom he had taken prisoner, concluded an agreement with him to the

effect that Firûz should never make war upon him, nor seek to injure him by treachery ; and placed upon the extreme limit of the territories of the Hephthalites a block of stone, which Firûz bound himself by a solemn promise never to pass. Trusting to this compact, the King of the Hephthalites suffered Firûz to depart ; but no sooner had the latter regained the capital of his kingdom, than, burning with shame and regardless of the treaty, he resolved to declare war anew against Khush-nawaz. Having laid this proposal before his viziers, they warned him against any violation of the compact, and represented to him that he would thus draw down upon himself the fate reserved for the unjust. These remonstrances did not, however, avail to shake his purpose ; and on being reminded by them of the conditions agreed upon between him and Khush-nawaz, “ I swore,” said he, “ never to pass that stone. Well, then, I will have it borne by an elephant at the head of my forces, and thus not one of my soldiers shall pass it.”

Seeing him so passionately bent upon his purpose as to content himself with an argument such as this, the viziers perceived that his judgment was

enthralled by covetousness. They were silent, therefore, and determined to speak to him no more upon the subject.

It is said, He who is too fond of his own counsel shall slip, and he who exalts himself above others shall be humbled.<sup>40</sup> Strong passions obscure the judgment like rust, and prevent it from reflecting the impress of truth.

Passion, before it attains to obstinacy, is like the elevation caused by drink; but when it becomes obstinate, it is like reeling drunkenness.

He who is the slave of passion cannot keep to the straight path, for the paroxysms of his covetousness and anger cast a veil over his understanding; and this because passion, as the older tyrant, has a far stronger hold upon the soul than understanding, whose influence is acquired, and more recent. Two veils may impede the action of the understanding; these are covetousness and anger. When not obscured by them, it never fails to watch over passion, and even to control it; but if it be once blinded, passion obtains absolute mastery, and encounters no farther check.

Firûz, continued the aged Persian, having

assembled his four satraps, each of whom commanded fifty thousand men and governed one of the four quarters of the kingdom of Babel, commanded them to make ready for war against the Hephthalites. When the preparations were completed, Firûz advanced in person against Khushnawaz, with so powerful a host, that he believed himself invincible ; and, in fact, the King of the Hephthalites could not muster forces sufficient to make head against even one of the satraps of Firûz, and had only obtained the victory before by means of a stratagem which need not be here related.

Meanwhile the Mobedan-Mobed, a title signifying Keeper of the Keepers of the Faith, who was looked upon as a prophet by the Persians, seeing Firûz thus bent upon making war against Khushnawaz, had said to him : “ O King, refrain from this enterprise ; the Lord of all the earth is long-suffering with princes, so long as the abuses they commit do not shake the foundations of His holy laws ; but He does not permit them to carry their wickedness to that excess. Now, respect for conquests and the inviolability of treaties is

one of the fundamental laws of religion. Beware, therefore, O King, of exposing yourself to perdition."

But Firûz, regardless of this admonition, and despising the warnings of his most faithful adherents, chose to act according to his own conceit.<sup>41</sup>

It is said that five signs betoken the fall of a king. First, if he believe the words of gossips, and of those who cannot foresee the issue of events; secondly, if he turn against those whom he ought to love; thirdly, if his revenue be not sufficient for his station; fourthly, if he favour one, and dismiss another from caprice and not from reflection; and fifthly, if he despise the counsels of men of wisdom and experience.

He who will not listen to a faithful friend, makes to himself an enemy.

A man will adopt or reject a prudent measure according as he has more or less capacity for reflection. He who has much, goes forward in the strength of reason, while he whose brain is weak is dragged along by the force of passion; and he who

acts without reflection, deserves to be numbered with the beasts.

The aged Persian thus continued his narrative :

Firûz, advancing against Khush-nawaz, reached the confines of his kingdom at the spot where was the stone which he had sworn never to pass. He commanded it to be removed, and placed upon the back of an elephant which was to march at the head of the army ; it being strictly forbidden that any one should advance in front of it. He had not gone far from the spot, however, when a retainer came up to inform him that one of his knights of highest rank had, against all reason and justice, most cruelly put to death a poor man. The brother of the man appeared soon after, entreating and imploring Firûz to grant him the vengeance of the law against the slayer of his brother.<sup>42</sup> The king commanded that a sum of money should be offered him as the price of blood ; but he replied, "No ; nothing but the blood of my brother's murderer can satisfy me ;" and when Firûz caused him to be removed from his presence, he instantly hastened to seek the knight, and rushed upon him with a *khanjâr* (*yataghan*)

in his hand, on seeing which the knight turned and fled.

Firûz was informed of the circumstance; and while he was marvelling at it, the wisest of his viziers, suddenly dismounting from his palfrey, kneeled down before the king, who was also on horseback; and when Firûz asked him what he wanted, he implored of him a private audience, on a subject, as he said, of great moment. The King caused a small tent to be pitched immediately, and having dismounted and entered, he called the vizier, and asked him what was the matter.

“Most fortunate Prince,” said the vizier, “may you reign over the seven climates of the earth, and live the life of Biwarasp,<sup>43</sup> with the same glory and power that he enjoyed. The will of the Almighty<sup>44</sup> is now made manifest to you by the example which he has placed before your eyes of this brave knight turning to flight at the approach of a poor varlet armed with a knife. What could have caused his flight but the consciousness of his own guilt and injustice?”

“No,” replied the king, “he did not turn his



back from fear of his assailant, but from fear of us, who are not accustomed to leave such guilty deeds unpunished." "If it be so, O King," replied the vizier, "I would suggest to you to summon the knight to meet this man in single combat, giving him security that he need fear nothing from you. Were this poor devil to conquer, would you not consider it a warning sent to yourself by Him who sustains all worlds?" "I will assuredly do so," replied Firûz; and having summoned the knight, he sought to encourage him, and commanded him to do battle against his accuser. The duel having been proposed to the latter, he appeared well pleased and eager for it. It was in vain that the bystanders sought to make him afraid; saying to him: "Do you not see his coat of mail, his arms, and his steed? Have you not heard the fame of his skill in horsemanship, of his courage, and of his impetuosity in combat. Mind that you are committing suicide, and going in quest of death. We wash our hands of your fate."

But the poor devil replied to them, "Leave us alone to deal with one another, for he is mounted

on the steed of vanity, I on that of truth ; he is clothed with the mail of doubt, I with that of confidence ; he brandishes the sword of iniquity, I that of justice.”<sup>45</sup>

“In truth,” said the vizier, turning to the king, “the words of this man afford us an example and a warning more obvious than even his victory in the duel could do. I entreat you, therefore, to retain your knight and save his life, not exposing him to perish in the encounter with this poor fellow. As for him, seek, O King, to persuade him to accept some compensation for the death of his brother ; and if he will not consent, then do justice yourself with your wonted impartiality. You may thus obtain the remission of the punishment destined you by the Almighty in consideration of your readiness to render that justice which gains His approval, as much as every deviation from it excites His wrath.

But Firûz replied, “The single combat must needs take place. You will see how it will end if this poor devil is still willing to abide the trial.”

The duel was, therefore, once more offered to

the poor man, who desired it as ardently as ever ; and although it was again repeated to him that he was going to meet his own death, these attempts to alarm him only served to increase his courage and eagerness for the contest. "Forward, then," cried the bystanders to the knight; "fear him not."

The two champions advanced against each other, and, in the first encounter, the foot-soldier seized the bridle of the horse, and the horseman was about to deal him a blow with his sword, when he avoided it by stooping his head, so that the point of the weapon barely inflicted a very slight wound upon his back ; then, springing upon his adversary, he made a thrust at his throat with the *khanjâr*, seized him, dragged him from his horse, and stretching him on the ground, dealt him a second blow which drove some of the links of his coat of mail into his stomach, and so dispatched him.

Firûz passed the whole night on the spot, reflecting upon what had occurred ; nevertheless he suffered himself to be guided by passion, and proceeded with his enterprise.

It is said that the commencement of passion is easy, but its end miserable. <sup>46</sup>

Passion is a tyrant which slays those whom it governs. It is like fire, which, once thoroughly kindled, can scarcely be quenched; or like the torrent, which, when it is swollen, can no longer be restrained within its banks.

Call not him a prisoner who has been put in fetters by his enemy, but rather him whose own passions overpower him, and hurry him to destruction.

Khush-nawaz, continued the old man, having heard of the hostile movements of Firûz, composed his spirit, and committed himself into the hands of Him who is the beginning and the end of all things, imploring him to vindicate the treaties of which Firûz thus violated the sanctity, mocking at the consequences which his treachery would entail upon him. He took, at the same time, all the measures which worldly prudence could dictate, strengthened his confines, assembled his forces, and commanded all the necessary preparations to be made for war. He then waited until the enemy, having scoured the greater part of

his territories, reached the very heart of his kingdom, sacking and spoiling so as to call forth the hatred of his subjects against the invaders. Then Khush-nawaz, issuing forth with his army, attacked Firûz at unawares, and joining battle with him, defeated and put him to flight, liberated the provinces he had occupied, made a great slaughter of his followers, seized all his baggage, and pursuing on his track, overtook him, put him to death, captured his family and the chief of his adherents, and thus concluded the campaign by a complete victory.

§ XVI.—CONCLUSION OF THE ADVENTURE OF AL-MAMÛN.

Al-Mamûn, understanding the example laid before him by the old Persian, cheerfully replied : “ Your discourse is grateful and pleasant to our ears, and we thank you for it. What think you, meanwhile, of the hint we gave you, to lead you to confess the unity of God,<sup>47</sup> who has enlarged your understanding, opened your mind to reflection, loosed your tongue to utter words of wisdom, and taken from you every pretext for

remaining in ignorance of His revealed will, by sending Mahomet upon earth ; upon whom, as well as upon all those who are his disciples, be the peace and blessing of God ?” “ I attest,” rejoined the old man,” “ that there is no God but God, and that Mahomet is His Prophet.”

Al-Mamûn, beyond measure delighted at his conversion, loaded him with gifts, gave him an honourable post in his own palace, numbered him amongst his most intimate friends, and desired that he should be always present at his court. At the end of a few days the old man was summoned to the presence of the Lord ; and Al-Mamûn having followed his counsel, God prospered him, and conducted him to the throne of the Caliphs, according to his hopes.

## CHAPTER II.

### FORTITUDE.<sup>1</sup>

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#### § I.—VERSES OF THE KORAN.

AMONGST the most noted chapters of the revelation of our Lord God, whose name be blessed, is one entitled “The Confederates,”<sup>2</sup> which contains several marvellous verses concerning the subject of this chapter, namely, Consolation<sup>3</sup> to Princes in times of public calamity. Praise be to God, who has guided and directed our minds towards these verses.

In allusion to those who sought the destruction of his vicar upon earth, the apostle of his doctrine and counsels, and to the instability of those Mussulmans whose eyes were dimmed and their minds polluted by evil thoughts concerning God, the divine author thus writes: <sup>4</sup>

“ When they came against you, from above you and from below you, and when your sight became

troubled, and your heart came even to your throats for fear, and ye imagined of God various imaginations :

“ Then were the faithful tried, and made to tremble with a violent trembling.” \*

And when hypocrisy began to unveil itself, and the hypocrites, beholding the faithful in this strait and confusion, boldly manifested that which they had before concealed, God said :

“ When the hypocrites, and those in whose heart was an infirmity, said, ‘ God and his apostle have made you no other than a fallacious promise.’ †

And, again, touching those who refrained from combating for the faith, and abandoned those who were willing to do battle :

“ God already knoweth those among you who hinder others from following his apostle, and who say unto their brethren, Come hither unto us ! and who come not to battle except a little.” ‡

Likewise the saying, “ When a party of them said, ‘ O inhabitants of Yathreb, there is no place of security for you here ; wherefore, return home.’ ”

\* Chap. xxxiii., v. 10 and 11.

† Ibid, v. 12.

‡ Ibid, v. 18.



And a part of them asked leave of the Prophet to depart, saying, 'Verily our houses are defenceless and exposed to the enemy:' but they were not defenceless; and their intention was no other than to fly." \*

And concerning those who seek their own profit in civil war, and are ready to follow every one that raises his voice, and to take part with every new leader, God has said :

"If the city had been entered upon them by the enemy from the parts adjacent, and they had been asked to desert the true believers, and to fight against them, they had surely consented thereto; but they had not, in such a case, remained in the same but a little while." †

And concerning the inability of every other power to resist that of Fate, God hath said :

"Say, flight shall not profit you, if ye fly from death or from slaughter; and if it would, yet shall ye not enjoy this world but a little."

"Say, who is he who shall defend you against God, if He is pleased to bring evil on you, or is pleased to show mercy towards you? They shall

\* Chap. xxxiii., v. 13.

† Ibid, v. 14.

find none to patronise or protect them, besides God.” \*

All these verses are touching the condition of nations afflicted by some calamity. But God has pointed out a path to those who are thus troubled, through the teaching which he bestows on his apostle. God has said :

“Ye have in the apostle of God, an excellent example.” †

Now, fortitude was one of the virtues enjoined on the apostle, when the most sublime of authors addressed him in the following words :—

“And apostles before thee have been accounted liars ; but they patiently bore their being accounted liars, and their being vexed, until our help came unto them ; . . . and thou hast received some information concerning those who have been formerly sent from him.” ‡

God, whose name be praised, moreover gave his apostle to understand that, if he lost courage and ceased to exhibit this virtue in his

\* Chap. xxxiii. v. 16, 17.

† Ibid, v. 21.

‡ Ibid, vi., v. 34.

actions, nothing that he undertook would ever succeed.

“If their aversion unto thy admonitions be grievous unto thee, if thou canst seek out a den, whereby thou mayest penetrate into the inward parts of the earth, or a ladder by which thou mayest ascend into Heaven, that thou mayest show them a sign, do so, but thy search will be fruitless.” \*

And the Lord gave him to understand that it was his duty to endure the injuries of the unbelievers with unflinching fortitude ; saying :

“Do thou, O Prophet, bear the insults of thy people with patience, as our apostles, who were endued with constancy, bare the injuries of their people.”

And afterwards, “Those were the persons whom God hath directed ; follow, thou, therefore, their direction.” †

This, then, is a subject which admits of no doubt. It is related that the Prophet was accustomed to say, “God hath instructed me ; the

\* Chap. vi., v. 35.

† Chap. xlv., v. 24, and chap. vi., v. 90.

Lord hath taught me a great lesson.” And this lesson, this positive precept, was fortitude, such as we have here set it forth.

§ II.—TRADITION OF THE PROPHET CONCERNING FORTITUDE.<sup>6</sup>

“ Regard those who are beneath you, not those who are above you ; for it is not meet that we should despise the blessings of God.”

These words of the Prophet have been handed down to us, and they apply exactly to the present subject. In order to understand them properly, we must not confine ourselves to the letter of the precept, to the neglect of its spirit and of its general applicability. It is assuredly of general application, since it enjoins on him who has little to turn his eyes upon those who have less than himself ; and to him who is afflicted, to consider those who are troubled with a worse calamity. Now, as there is no doubt that in both cases the latter are placed lower than the former in the scale of that happiness which is the object of the wishes of all, it is clear that those less oppressed by poverty, or any other evil, are in the enjoy-

ment of a comparatively prosperous and elevated position.

We call him happy who enjoys a larger share than another of the favours of fortune, or of any kind of personal and social advantages. Thus, likewise, in adversity, we may consider him fortunate whose lot is less severe than that of another, and who is exempted from the harder trials to which that other is subjected. Such considerations tend to inspire fortitude, by accustoming him who is used to sink beneath every calamity to compare his own burdens with those of others ; and thus not only will his misfortunes appear to him less terrible, but he will even be excited to gratitude towards God who has spared him the miseries by which they are bowed down. Such a feeling is of a higher order than simple fortitude, which neither entails the satisfaction of thankfulness, nor gives rise to that confidence which is founded upon the appreciation of happiness, but leads merely to endurance. The fortitude inculcated by the tradition afore-mentioned, is that which gives birth at once to endurance and thankfulness.<sup>7</sup>

§ III.—PHILOSOPHICAL MAXIMS IN PROSE AND VERSE  
CONCERNING FORTITUDE.

Fortitude is the paradise of misfortune; the virtue of great men. Fortitude serves as a stepping-stone to patience, even as despondency is the slope that leads to perdition.

Let him who has understanding consider this world's wealth as borrowed goods, which must be restored; as treasures held in deposit, which may be reclaimed. If he do not view them in this light, he will be weighed down with grief at their loss, and will stigmatise as a tyrant the Sovereign Benefactor who deprives him of them.

Let him not forget that all men have a right to share in the goods of this world, and to enjoy them in their turn. If riches should therefore pass from his hands into those of others, let him not complain of those who accept that which falls to their lot; but let him take comfort, and endure their good fortune with the same patience with which they formerly beheld his wealth and their own poverty.\*

And to what end does the Koran recommend

\* S. A. 536.

alms-giving, lending, hospitality, and all the various kinds of assistance which may be rendered by means of wealth, power, or influence, if not for the good of the benefactors themselves, who, by giving a part of their possessions to their neighbours, secure the preservation of the rest ?<sup>8</sup>

Many are the philosophical maxims recorded on this subject, for those who choose to meditate upon them. But I refrain. Assistance must be sought from God alone.

A prince once repeated to me the following verses, composed by himself in a season of great tribulation:

“Behold us in company with thee, O sage, who hast received instruction from the alternate smiles and frowns of fortune; although our race be illustrious and powerful;

“Ours is a lofty spirit, accustomed to the vicissitudes of fate; so that it can find comfort even when it appears as though all consolation were denied us.”<sup>9</sup>

Being afterwards with him in one of his periods of affliction, he recited to me these verses of his composition :

“ Fortune smiled upon me, but did not so captivate me as to inspire me with the desire to remain long her friend.

“ She then turned her back upon me, but could not so far overpower me as that her varied cruelties should draw from me one word of lamentation.

“ Let us praise God for His wisdom;” then, turning to me, “ Now complete that verse,” said he; and I rejoined :

“ For my strength is in Him, and from Him are my powers of action derived.”

Another day, when, in discourse with him, I was combating a proposition which he had put forward concerning fortitude, he repeated to me some more of his verses on this subject, and I in my turn quoted the following, written by the poetess Khansâ :

“ Never shall I be able to forget thee, O Sakhr, until I bid farewell to life, and go to visit my tomb !

“ The rising sun reminds me of Sakhr, and I remember him every time that I behold it set.

“ Had I not been surrounded by so many who wept for those they loved, I should undoubtedly have slain myself with mine own hand.



“Alas ! none of those whom they bewailed resembled my brother ; yet by fortitude I have lightened my sorrow for his loss.”<sup>10</sup>

“These verses,” said the king to me, “are more appropriate than those of Tailsâm Ibn Hirb : listen :” and he recited the following verses of his composition :

“We roll onward in waves of plenteousness like the Nile ; our advance is like unto the clash of swords.

“And if some heavy calamity befall us, we endure it with fortitude, as is the part of lofty souls.”<sup>11</sup>

§ IV.—FAIR GARDEN AND EXCELLENT ARENA. SAPOR,  
KING OF PERSIA, AND THE ROMAN EMPEROR.

It is related that Sapor Du 'l Aktaf,<sup>12</sup> son of Hormuz, having resolved to enter the Roman empire in disguise, in order to explore it, his more faithful counsellors sought to dissuade him from his purpose, representing to him that he ought not to hazard his own person in an enterprise which might be committed to others in his stead. Sapor

however, turning a deaf ear to their counsels, commanded them to keep his design secret, and prepared to carry it into execution.

It was said that none are so much to be pitied as the ministers of monarchs under age, and old men in love with maidens.

It is hard for the young to pass from the blindness of passion to the straight path of counsel, for two reasons: first, because their desires exercise a despotic power over them; secondly, because experience has not yet come to controul their energies, and teach them to resist the influence of passion, as do the wise.

The reason why anger and desire have so much power over the mind, is because they are its companions from the hour of its birth; and this is not the case with understanding, which is bestowed upon it at a later period, and, as a new guest, has much difficulty in obtaining the mastery over it. Thus, he who seeks to give good advice to a man inflamed with anger or desire, will have little success, because the mist of these two passions obscures the light of the understanding, even as does drunkenness.

Sapor, preparing for his journey, selected as his companion a vizier who had served his father before him. He was a man of mature years, astute, firm, clear-sighted, experienced in business, a theologian, and well versed in literature, science, and the stratagems of war. To him Sapor consigned everything which he thought needful for his comfort or pleasure during the journey, and desired him to travel separately from himself, remaining, however, sufficiently near at hand to be able to watch over the safety of his person, under all circumstances, both by day and by night.

Thus they set out upon their journey towards Syria. The vizier, who spoke the language of Galicia,<sup>13</sup> disguised himself as a monk; and having likewise some knowledge of surgery, he took with him a certain Chinese balsam, which being applied to a wound causes it instantly to heal and scar over. Many people, says the author, have declared to me that they have been eye-witnesses of the efficacy of this remedy, and one of them, in particular, related to me that, in order to test it, he had on one occasion inflicted upon himself a very slight cut, which

on being anointed with this balsam, immediately closed up! "<sup>14</sup>

In the course of his journey, and even after crossing the confines of the Roman empire, the vizier had cured many wounded persons, by merely applying to their wounds a little of this balsam, which instantly produced its healing effect. If he fell in with persons of quality, he took still greater pains to cure them, and having done so, refused to accept any reward. Thus he gained general goodwill in the countries through which he passed, and obtained the reputation of a pious and learned man.

It was said, he who plants the germ of knowledge, shall gather fame; thus, likewise, self-denial will lead to glory; reflection, to wisdom; gravity, to reverence; caution, to security; pride, to hatred; avarice, to contempt; ambition, to shame; and envy, to a bursting heart.

It was said, notwithstanding the differences of time, place, and creed, all nations have ever agreed in praising these four virtues: learning, self-denial, liberality, and fidelity.

Sapor and his vizier, travelling separately as we

have said, and the latter watching over the person of his sovereign with the utmost vigilance, made the round of Syria, passed the gates of Cilicia, and reached Constantinople. Here the vizier went to seek the Patriarch, a title which signifies the father of fathers; and having sought and obtained an audience, and been questioned by him as to the object of his journey, he gave him to understand that he had quitted Gallicia with no other object than to obtain the privilege of entering his service. At the same time offering him a costly present, with which the Patriarch was greatly pleased; and therefore treated the stranger with much courtesy. bestowed upon him his friendship, lodged him sumptuously, admitted him amongst the number of his intimate associates, and perceiving the excellence of his understanding, regarded him with the highest esteem and admiration. The vizier, on his side, applied himself to study the character of the Patriarch, in order to ingratiate himself more and more with him, by propitiating his taste with wares for which it would afford a profitable market, and which his dupe would readily swallow.

It was said, If you would ingratiate yourself with a great man, first take notice what are the arts that may serve to attract him, and to find favour in his eyes; and being thus prepared to practise them, so soon as you have passed his threshold, and that he has received you honourably, take courage, and set to work. Otherwise, spread your nets with caution, until you see that the moment is come for enveloping and securing him; and when you are sure of the prize, then strike the blow.

Having thus fathomed the Patriarch, the vizier perceived his weak point to be disquisitions upon canon law, but that he was also ready to listened open-mouthed to any narrative of marvellous adventures; so he began to ply him with abundance of curious tales and anecdotes; nor had he much trouble in gaining the good-will and affection of the Patriarch, and fastening himself on to him as closely as the very hairs of his breast. Meanwhile, he continued to practise surgery gratuitously, which increased his favour and reputation with the public.

It was said, If it be true, that we are naturally

inclined to love our benefactors, that love is a species of servitude; and that all servitude is repugnant to free men: then he may, in truth esteem himself free, who delivers himself from the debt of affection due to his benefactors, by striving to the utmost of his ability to requite them for their benefits. For even if his powers are not sufficient to effect this, the pains he has taken to do so will free him from all blame with regard to them.

The vizier continued to exert himself for the sake of his prince, without the loss of a single moment, when it came to pass, that Kaisar <sup>15</sup> was pleased to give a great banquet to which the citizens were invited, each in his degree; whoever should fail to attend being threatened with disgrace. Sapor took it into his head to go there also, that he might see the face of Kaisar, and become acquainted with the regulations of the court, and the splendid decorations of the palace; and the vizier having in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from exposing himself to this new peril, he assumed a disguise in which he flattered himself that his recognition would be impossible, and presented

himself at the palace, together with the other guests.

It should be mentioned that Kaisar, having heard of the singular gifts which God had bestowed upon Sapor—of his sagacity, magnanimity, and the courage of which even from his childhood he had given proof, had long been on his guard against him; and had even sent to the capital of Persia a skilful limner, who had taken likenesses of Sapor on the various occasions on which he been able to behold him, such as seated in the halls of his palace, on horseback, and in other similar attitudes. The limner having brought back these likenesses with him, Kaisar had caused them to be represented on carpets, curtains, plate, and goblets.

Sapor, having entered the palace and being seated at table with the rest, the viands were served, and drink handed to the guests in goblets of crystal, gold, silver, and solid glass.<sup>16</sup> Amongst those present was a Roman, a man of much wisdom and penetration and an excellent physiognomist; who, perceiving Sapor, and not being acquainted with his person, began to examine his features,



demeanour, and general appearance, and thought he perceived in him something of a princely aspect. This induced him to scrutinise him the more narrowly ; and he kept his eyes steadfastly fixed upon him, until, as the goblets were carried round, one was handed to him, upon which was the portrait of the King of Persia. The physiognomist examined it, and struck by the resemblance which it bore to the features of the stranger, he became impressed with the idea that the latter could be no other than Sapor himself ; and thus he remained for some time holding the cup in his hand.

Presently, raising his voice, he said, “ The likeness which is sculptured on this goblet has imparted to me a marvellous piece of news.” “ What is it, what is it ? ” asked every one ; and the Roman resumed :—“ This portrait informs me that the original is here amongst us, seated at table ; ” and so saying, he fixed his eyes upon Sapor, who, at his first words, had changed countenance. The physiognomist went away, convinced of the truth of his suspicions, and repeated his former words so as to be heard by

Kaisar, who, having summoned him to approach, he affirmed to him that Sapor was there in his presence, and pointed him out. Kaisar, therefore, caused the stranger to be seized and interrogated; and, as he endeavoured to elude inquiry under various pretexts, the physiognomist kept repeating: "Do not believe him, for he is Sapor; there is no doubt of it;" until Kaisar, having commanded him to be put to death, in order to terrify him, Sapor acknowledged his identity.

It was said, the understanding of the wise penetrates all mysteries in the twinkling of an eye; for the first aspect of things affords manifold indications of the ultimate consequences that will accrue from them.

As the eye, provided it be not dimmed by disease, is a mirror in which are represented the images of present objects; so the mind, if unsullied by the scum of passion, is a mirror on which are similarly imprinted the images of many things which do not fall under the cognisance of the senses.

Amongst the arguments which go to prove that God sometimes reveals to human intellects

that which is to come,<sup>17</sup> may be numbered this one: That when a man is in expectation of anything which he either desires or abhors, he frequently sees it come to pass very nearly as he had pictured it to himself. The same thing occurs when, at first sight, we are conscious of a feeling of affection towards one who has done us no good, and of aversion to one who has done us no harm, and that in process of time we do, in fact, receive a benefit from the one, and an injury from the other.

Sapor having acknowledged the truth of the physiognomist's assertion, Kaisar caused him to be imprisoned; but, nevertheless, to be treated with respect. He then gave orders for the construction of a machine in the form of an enormous bull, to be made of seven coats of hide, with a small window underneath, and a trap-door in the back by which to go in and out and convey food to any one within. The wrists of the prisoner were then fettered with a chain of gold, which hung from his neck, but, being wrought in links, did not prevent him from making use of his hands to feed himself, or for any other purpose; and

he was lodged in the hollow interior of the machine.

Kaisar, meanwhile, had assembled his forces, and made every preparation for war against the kingdom of Persia. He assigned the custody of Sapor to a hundred of the strongest and most valiant men of his army, who were by turns to carry this singular litter. A corporal was placed over every five of them, and the whole were under the authority of the Metropolitan, a title which signifies the ruler of a province, but is confined to ecclesiastics, and, properly speaking, means the vicar of the Patriarch. Sapor's bull was to be borne before the eyes of the Metropolitan when the army was on the march; and, when it halted, was to be placed in the midst of the encampment, and a hut erected over it to conceal it. Fifty men of the guard, with their corporals, were to keep watch without the tent, and the remaining fifty to occupy ten others pitched in a circle around it. The tent of the Metropolitan was to be placed beside that of Sapor; and lastly, an awning spread without the circle, was to serve the whole party as a kitchen, where their various meals should be

prepared, according to the rank and dignity of each. Everything concerning the army, having been regulated with the most rigorous precision, Kaisar set forth, expecting to throw the whole of Persia into confusion, and to subdue it so effectually as to leave not a vestige of that kingdom, which, as he well knew, had no one to defend it.

It was said: To dissemble with an adversary while wind and fortune favour him, is accounted prudence; and, likewise, it is accounted foolishness to let slip the opportunity, when fortune turns her back upon him, and the wind fails him.

The king who gives himself up to pleasure and suffers opportunity to escape him, will never attain to success in state affairs.

Kings should be distinguished from their subjects by superiority of merit rather than of splendour. There are five virtues in which princes ought to surpass all other men;—paternal affection, which should extend to all their subjects; vigilance, which should embrace and watch over them; courage, to defend them when attacked; sagacity, to delude their enemies; and prudence, to take

advantage of every opportunity. As to superior luxury, it may be displayed by kings in the solidity and splendour of their dwellings, the elegance and costliness of their attire, the value and rarity of their jewels, the gaiety and brilliancy of their feasts, and the beauty and easy paces of their horses; and all these luxuries will be, in their several ways, superior to those of others; but they will only exalt the respective merits of the palace, the garment, the jewel, the kitchen, or the stable; they cannot confer greatness upon their possessor.

ai sar having set forth with the host, and with Sapor in the plight we have described, the vizier addressed the Patriarch to this effect—

“Most reverend Father, I sought to approach you, and to enter your service, on account of my eager desire after good works. But is there any work more meritorious than to lighten the travail of the afflicted, and afford assistance to those who stand most in need of it? You know, O Father, that I am not unskilled in the treatment of the wounded, and my soul longs to follow

Kaisar on this expedition ; for perhaps it might please God, through my means, to save some good Christian from death, in order that I might afterwards obtain divine mercy for his sake ; that my heart might be sanctified by the service rendered him, and, that through him, I might be preserved.”

This request greatly displeased the Patriarch. “You know,” said he, “that I cannot bear you to be absent from me one moment, and yet you come and ask me to let you go upon so distant a journey. Indeed I did not think that you would ever have wished to displease me, and to lay upon me a burden which I cannot sustain : nor, did I believe that you would have preferred anything in this world to my friendship and to my company. You have now quite destroyed the good opinion that I had of you.”

But the vizier flattered and cajoled him so effectually, and returned to the charge so often, that the Patriarch at length granted him all that he desired ; and not only let him go, but even provided him with all things needful for the journey, and wrote a letter to the Metropolitan, to the effect that he

sent him the apple of his eye and his very heart's core,<sup>18</sup> and therefore he was to hold him in the highest honour, and to have recourse to his counsel in every matter in which he did not clearly see his way.

The vizier, therefore, presented himself to the Metropolitan, who treated him as he was in duty bound to do, and lodged him in his own tent; and the vizier at once proceeded to draw from his stores such wares as he knew the Metropolitan would most appreciate, and began to propitiate him by adapting himself to all his tastes. Every evening he entertained him with amusing stories, raising his voice the while, so as to be heard by Sapor. He thus procured some diversion for his prince, at the same time that he wove into these stories such information as he desired him to receive, and the secrets which he deemed it necessary to impart to him; thus affording great consolation to the prisoner. The vizier, whose sole object was to effect his liberation, had already devised many intrigues for this purpose, all of them founded upon the estimation in which he was held by the Metropolitan.



It was said : The king who believes the minds of princes to be of a nature superior to the minds of viziers, has fallen into a great error ; and if he contracts the bad habit of contradicting a wise and faithful vizier, without manifest reason, it is certain that he will never prosper. Viziers, on the contrary, have in general more shrewdness and penetration than princes ; for the latter have only to attend to the management of their subjects, and of no others, while the viziers are obliged to devote themselves to the guidance of both sovereign and people at once. Thus kings resemble those animals trained<sup>19</sup> to the chace, which, indeed, pursue and seize their prey, but are hunted in their turn by other animals more ferocious than themselves, and more skilled in the arts by which to guard themselves from danger, find the track of their victims, and secure them in their clutches.

<sup>20</sup> It was said : The vizier who best understands his business, is he who makes such provision for the consequences which may arise, that when they present themselves, he can hasten to meet them with a remedy prepared beforehand. Likewise the worst

vizier is he who, trusting to the quickness of his wit, the power of his cunning, and his experience in the management of affairs, deems himself secure and disdains to provide beforehand against the contingencies which may occur. He thus acts like one who, trusting to his readiness of speech, flow of ideas, and facility of extemporising, neglects to prepare an oration, and polish and study it beforehand; and then suddenly, in some academic session, finds himself tongue-tied and unable to proceed. Thus, also, a warrior, trusting to his tried valour and to the strength of his arm, frees himself from the weight of his armour, and then it comes to pass that, in the struggle, he is overcome and conquered by the enemy.

One of the vizier's artful devices was, always to refuse to dine with the Metropolitan, assigning as a pretext that he would eat no other food than that furnished him by the Patriarch at the commencement of his journey, and pretending to expect some great spiritual benefit from this diet. When the Metropolitan's meals were served, he produced a portion of these provisions, which he eat without ever partaking of anything else.

At length Kaisar, having entered the Persian dominions with his army, deluged the land with blood, dragged the women into captivity, defiled the waters, cut down the trees, and razed forts and villages to the ground. Without once pausing in his progress, he advanced straight upon the capital, in order to make himself master of it, and thus, at one blow, to secure all the chief men of the country, before the fear of hostile arms had induced them to raise up another king, who should be able to unite their divided parties and defend them all against the invader. Hitherto the Persians had no thought but flying before the enemy, and shutting themselves up in their fortresses.

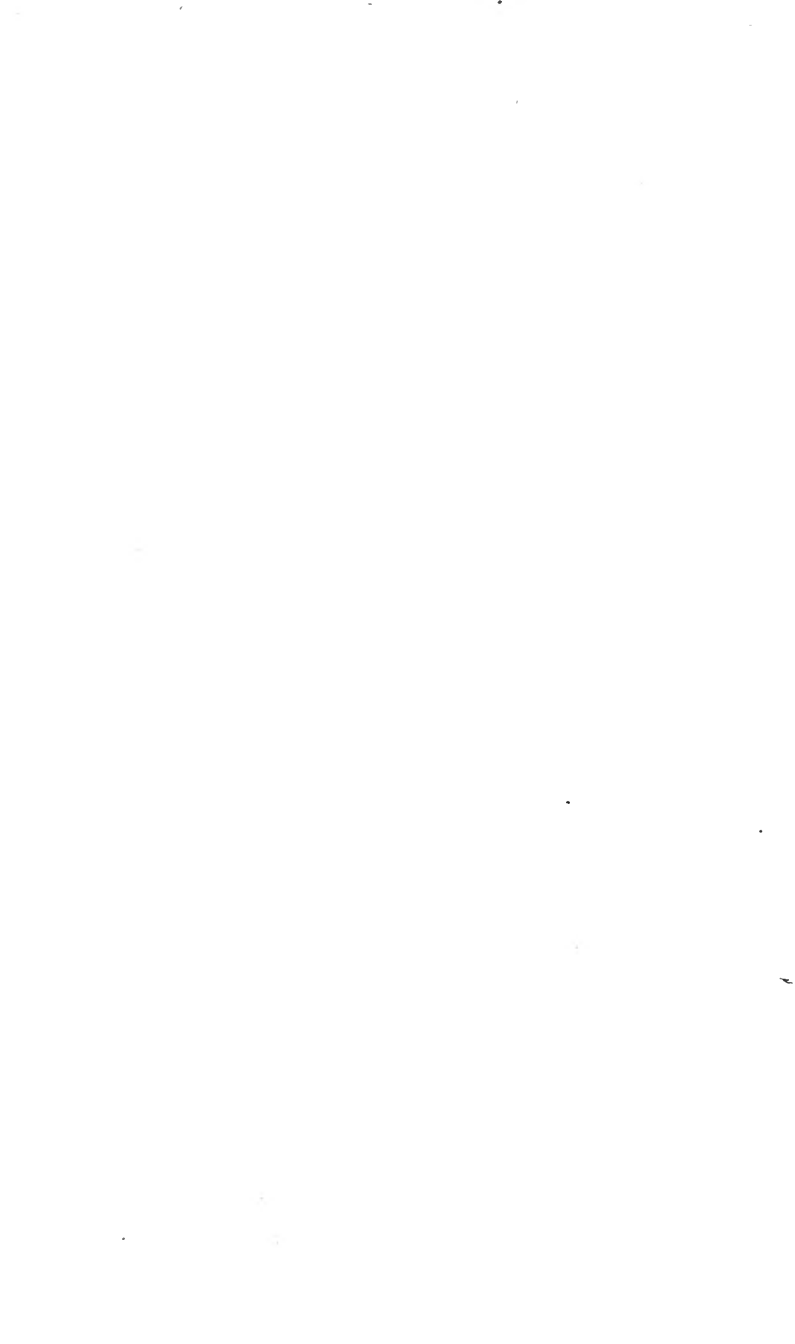
Kaisar having reached the residence of Sapor and capital of the empire, which was called Jundi-Shahpûr,<sup>21</sup> laid siege to it, and directed his mangonels against the place; nor could the nobles, within the town, devise any other means of defence than that of strengthening the walls as much as possible, and combating from their summits.

Sapor became acquainted with these events by deciphering the hidden communications he received

from the vizier, by means of the hints, enigmas, and allegories, interspersed throughout his tales ; for he had never spoken to him face to face from the moment that the king had been made captive. On hearing that Kaisar was already setting his foot upon the necks of the people of Jundi-Shahpûr, that the mangonels had effected a breach in the walls, and that the conquest of the capital could not now be long deferred, the patience of Sapor gave way. Mistrusting even his own vizier, cast down, and in despair of ever escaping from this strait, he said to the keeper who brought him his food ; “ This chain torments me so much that I can endure it no longer, therefore if you do not wish to kill me, loosen it a little, and bind some pieces of silk upon my neck and wrists, where it is fastened around them ; ” and so he sent away the keeper with the food, who came and showed it to the Metropolitan, and repeated to him the words of Sapor. By this means they became known to the vizier, who understood from them the despair and mistrust of the king, divined his evil intent, and applied himself at once to the execution of his purpose.

When it was night, and the vizier was seated with the Metropolitan and his companions : “This evening,” said he, “a marvellous tale recurs to my memory, which I have known many years, and which, before my departure, I had purposed to relate to the Patriarch.” “Oh ! then, my sapient hermit, I beseech you to relate it to me this evening,” replied the Metropolitan. “Even as you will,” answered the vizier, and raising his voice, so as to be heard by Sapor, he began.

(CONTINUED IN VOLUME II.)



## NOTES

TO THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally, "has he given it a place in his liver and in his heart;" the former being held by the Arabs to be the seat of passion, the latter that of thought. This eulogium of the unknown king to whom the work is ascribed is in the species of rhyming prose called in Arabic, *Carinet*.

<sup>2</sup> "Maidens and spouses of literature," signify, no doubt, unpublished and published fragments.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dinar* varied in value. Malcolm, estimates it at nine shillings and twopence. (See Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii., p. 416; but Marsden appears to be more correct in giving it the value of ten shillings and sixpence.)

<sup>4</sup> Conf. Freytag. *Prov. Arab.*, vol. i., p. 342. All these are popular proverbs. The concluding one appears to mean, "Talk as long as you will, I shall not listen to you." The Arabic proverb to which I refer has a somewhat different

meaning: "Tell a woman two stories; and if she does not give heed, tell her four;" but this would appear to be an encouragement to persevere in importunity, while in the form in which it is given by Ibn Zafer, it seems rather an ironical equivalent to "Keep your breath to cool your porridge."

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NOTES TO THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE  
SECOND EDITION.

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<sup>1</sup> "Leader" is the original signification of the word *Kaid*. It afterwards became a title of office, and finally one of courtesy, somewhat like the Latin *Dux*. Hence is derived the Spanish *Alcaide*, or *Alcalde*. In Sicily, under the Normans, *Kaid* was a mere title of courtesy bestowed upon the Mussulman nobles, and perhaps also upon the high officials of the court and of the state. In Latin it was written *Gaitus*, and is often to be found in deeds, and in the writings of Hugo Falcandus and other chroniclers of the period.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "of the snare of the slide of this earthly life," according to MS., s. A. 535, and others, in which we find *Mazillah*, "a slide or slippery place," MS., s. A. 1950, gives *Madillah*, "baseness, or a vile thing."

<sup>3</sup> The last of these verses is only to be found in the MS., s. A. 535.



‘ The metre designated as *Rajiz* is that which differs the least from prose and is the easiest of all those in use amongst the Arabs. Hence it was principally employed by them for didactic subjects, and obtained the appellation of “the poet’s ass.” He who wrote in this metre, as if scarcely meriting the name of poet, was called *rajiz*.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

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<sup>1</sup> Koran, chap. xl., v. 31. I have not adhered to the customary interpretation of the concluding words of this verse, which have been translated by Maracci, "*similitudinem diei sectarum*;" by Sale, "a day like that of the confederates;" and by Kasimirski, "*le jour pareil au jour des partis*." They appear to me to refer neither to a day in this sense, nor to confederates, nor to parties. I have, therefore, adopted the interpretation of Beidhawi, who, in his Commentary on the Koran (Arabic original, Leipzig edition, 1846-48, vol. ii., p. 211), has the following: "*The day of the Ahzâb*, signifies the day of the extinct people, or the calamities of these people. *Ahzâb* being in the plural, and being used in the sense that it is here, it was not necessary to put *the day* also in the plural."

After this explanation of the Mussulman commentator, it is needless for me to enumerate the reasons which induced me to substitute the word *overthrow*, or *catastrophe*, for *day*. *Ahzâb*, the plural of *Hizb*, does indeed signify confederates

and partisans, multitudes leagued together, portions of nations or battalions; but we learn from Beidhawi, that in this passage of the Koran the word is used as the generic designation of the ancient races already extinct in the days of Mahomet, or even before his time, and was, doubtless, bestowed by the peninsular Arabs on the relics of other nations differing from themselves in appearance, language, and manners, which still continued to exist amongst them, and concerning whom they knew only that they had escaped in the general destruction of their own powerful tribes or nations. In the regions inhabited by the descendants of Shem, catastrophes involving the extermination of entire nations have occurred more frequently than elsewhere, for, not to speak of long and bloody wars, especially before the time of Mahomet, nor of the migration of entire tribes, exposed to perish from drought in the deserts, those countries are subject to the visitations of subterranean fires, hurricanes, simoons, drought, pestilence, and other calamities which mingle in all the traditions of the Shemitic nations, investing the Deity with a character of awful severity. The name of *Ahzâb* appears, therefore, to have been the general appellation of all those nations which had been visited by disaster or by the wrath of Heaven. For the extinct nations of Arabia see "*Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*," by M. Caussin de Perceval (Paris,

1843, Book I.), the result of long and careful research among published and manuscript authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Koran, chap. xl., v. 32 and 33. Amongst the most celebrated of the extinct races mentioned in the preceding note, were the people of Ad and Thamûd. Frequent mention is made of them in the Koran, in which Mahomet gladly availed himself of the miracles recorded by the traditions of the Hebrews and Arabs, in the stead of miracles of his own which he never pretended to perform. The following are the fabulous traditions recorded of these two nations, both of whom were races of giants, proud, powerful, and far advanced in civilisation which only served to foster their presumption in provoking the wrath of Heaven.

The people of Ad dwelt in the south of Arabia, between Yemen, Hadhramawt, and Oman ; and having greatly increased in numbers and in strength, one of their kings, named Sheddad, effected the conquest of Irak (that is, the province of Babylon), India, Egypt, and Northern Africa ; and seeking, in the pride of his prosperity, to enjoy here upon earth the delights of paradise, he built a magnificent palace, adorned with columns, and situated in the midst of extensive gardens, to which he gave the name of Iram. This excited the anger of the Deity, who, as a first warning, caused the king to perish, and miraculously destroyed the palace. But this not sufficing to check the arro-

gance of the Adites, God sent them a message by the mouth of the prophet Hûd, commanding them to embrace the belief in one God, on pain of extermination. The Adites, however, mocked at the message, and were thereupon afflicted with a terrible drought. This visitation caused them to hesitate; yet they clung to their ancient superstitions, and sent three men to Mecca (which was in all ages the holy city of the Arabs) to pray for rain. The people of Amalika, another extinct race at that time in possession of Mecca, received the envoys of their powerful neighbours with courtesy, and led one of them to the summit of a lofty mountain, where, after the necessary sacrifices had been offered up according to the pagan rites, the God of Islam vouchsafed to manifest his power. Three clouds of different hues appeared, and a voice from heaven cried aloud to the man of Ad: "Choose which thou wilt." The simple-minded pagan made choice of the thickest and darkest, which he supposed pregnant with rain; and the cloud sailing rapidly away, broke over the land of Ad, of which all the inhabitants were destroyed, with the exception of a few who had believed the words of Hûd. According to the same traditions, the Adites were the first amongst the tribes of Arabia to erect buildings of masonry, and hence the Arabs still attribute to them such structures as they believe to be of great antiquity, even as we designate as Cyclopean those of which

the origin is anterior to the times of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Phœnicians.

The people of Thamûd, no less impious than that of Ad, migrated from the south of Arabia to the country of Hijr, to the east of Arabia Petræa, between Syria and Hejaz. But this people excavated instead of building; and their artificial caves, hollowed in the sides of the mountains, may still be seen in the spot called *Diar-Thamûd*, "district of Thamûd," or *Madain-Salih*, "cities of Salih the prophet;" and being very low and narrow, as M. Caussin de Perceval observes, they might prove to such Mussulmans as are not blinded by superstition, that the people of Thamûd were not of gigantic stature. The prophet Salih was sent to preach the Unitarian faith to this people; and in proof of his divine mission caused a live she-camel to come forth from the living rock, which had no sooner come into the world than it dropped a foal. But this twofold miracle did not suffice to convince the unbelievers of Thamûd, amongst whom was one Codar, surnamed "the Red," who, desirous to see whether the camel were invulnerable, let fly an arrow at her, by which, although she had come to life in so miraculous a manner, she was slain like an ordinary camel. At this act of impiety the wrath of God broke forth, and in the space of three days the whole nation perished through the fault of Codar the Red, whose name has passed into a proverb.

For these notices, see the aforesaid work of M. Caussin de Perceval, "*Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*," vol. i., p. 12, etc., and 24, etc. See also the Koran, chap. xi., v. 52, etc., and other passages.

The expression, "those who have lived after them"—namely, after the people of Noah and the tribes of Ad and Thamûd—refers, probably, in the opinion of Beidhawi, to the inhabitants of Sodom, concerning whom the tradition of the Arabs coincides with the Bible record.

<sup>3</sup> The day of judgment, in which the seducers and the seduced shall mutually reproach each other; or in which men shall call upon one another for help; or in which the elect shall cry unto those who are cast into hell. Another reading has "shall fly from one another," instead of "shall call upon one another." These several interpretations are given by Beidhawi in his commentary on this verse, the 34th of chap. xl.

<sup>4</sup> Koran, chap. xl., v. 48. The traditions of the Koran differ somewhat from the biblical record as to the particulars of the summons of Moses to Pharaoh's presence. In them we find mention of one Haman, a vizier of Pharaoh; of a cousin of Pharaoh, the anonymous believer mentioned by Ibn Zafer; and of Asia, the wife of the king. There were, according to Mahomet, four women distinguished above all others for their virtues: these were Mary, Khadijah the wife, and Fatimah the daughter of the Prophet, and this Asia, who was

put to death by her husband because she believed the words of Moses.—See Sale : notes to chapters xxviii. and lxvi. ; and, touching Asia, also the tradition of Mahomet in the *Mishcat-ul-Masabih*, translated into English by Captain Matthews, Calcutta, vol. ii., p. 791.

Chap. xl. of the Koran is entitled *Al Mûmin* “the True Believer,” from this supposed cousin of Pharaoh. For the acts of Moses at the court of Pharaoh, see Koran, chap. vii., v. 101, *seqq.* ; xx., v. 8, *seqq.* ; xxvi., v. 9, *seqq.* ; xxvii., v. 7, *seqq.* ; xxviii., v. 2, *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Abd-Allah Ibn Masûd is recorded to have been one of the earliest followers of Mahomet. At the period of their first persecution, when there were yet but a few of them, he went into exile in Abyssinia, while the Prophet himself remained at Mecca protected by his powerful kindred. When the fortunes of Mahomet were restored at Medina, Ibn Masûd returned. He was amongst those who fought at Bedr, and one of the most faithful adherents of the Prophet, who declared, concerning him and a few others, that their admission into paradise was certain.

The same tradition is found, with some slight variations, in the *Mishcat* quoted above (vol. ii., p. 518), where it is added: “But in the thing which God has written for you, the pens were taken up and the books dried.” The tradition is here ascribed to Ibn Abbâs, who declared that he had



heard these words from the Prophet's own lips. It is scarcely necessary to add that tradition signifies, in the language of Islam, the record of the acts and sayings of Mahomet. The Koran is the law of highest authority to the Mussulman, and next to it is tradition, otherwise the *sunnah*, or "practice of the Prophet."

<sup>6</sup> Abû Hossain Moslim is the author of one of the two most celebrated collections of traditions of the Prophet, which are distinguished by the appellation of "the two genuine records." He lived in the third century after the Hejira. The other genuine record is the work of his contemporary, Mohammed Ibn Ismaël Bokhari, who was born at Bokhara, at the close of the second century, and died in the year 256 (A.D. 869-70).

*Mosnâd* signifies authority in a didactic sense, and is therefore one of the generic names applied to the collections of traditions concerning the Prophet. Hence the celebrated work of Moslim, entitled, as we have said, *Sahîh*, "the genuine," is called by some *el Mosnâd el-Sahîh*, or "the genuine authority." There is also a work entitled *Mosnâd Moslim*, "the authority of Moslem," written by Abu Bekr Mohammed Ibn Abd-allah el-Jurami, who died in 388 (A.D. 998), and who compiled, on the authority of Moslim, this collection, or probably compendium, of the traditions of the Prophet. See Haji Khalfa, article *Mosnâd Moslim*, Paris MS.

Abu Horaira, of whom mention is here made, was called Abd-er-Rahman Ibn Sakhr; but he is best known by his surname, which signifies "he of the kitten," or more literally, "the father of the kitten." He became a Mussulman in the year 7, and died in 57 (A.D. 676-7), at the age of 78. He was very loquacious, and amongst the most zealous of those who were wont to repeat every trifling word uttered by Mahomet.

<sup>7</sup> The *Sahîh* is Moslim's great collection, mentioned above. Ibn Khallikan, in his life of this author, says, that it was compiled from no less than 80,000 traditions, which must be an exaggeration.

Bara Ibn A'zib could not fail to be good authority in matters of tradition, having been with Mahomet in fifteen military encounters.

The MS., s. A. 535, of the Solwân, has the following variation:—"Oh my God, unto thee do I commit my face, unto thee do I confide my fate, unto thee do I entrust my back." Or, in other words, to thee do I confide my honour, my fortune, and my life."

<sup>8</sup> The MS., s. A. 536, has: "a passive and subject being, dragged at the tail of other creatures."

<sup>9</sup> Even were we ignorant of the name of the author, we could not fail to perceive that this verse was written at a time when nothing appeared impossible to the Arabs, and by a man accustomed

to obey intuition, and to follow the impulse of genius.

Hajjaj lived in the latter part of the first century after the Hejira, when the Mussulmans had already carried their arms as far as the straits of Gibraltar on the one side, and the shores of the Indus and the Oxus on the other. A distinguished captain, an elegant writer, an orator and a statesman, he has left behind him a name which would be glorious but for the stigma of tyranny and cruelty with which it is deservedly branded by history. We will here briefly record the principal events of the age in which he lived, in order at once to illustrate the character of the poet, and to throw some light upon a portion of Mussulman history to which frequent reference will be made in the succeeding notes.

When Hajjaj, then a youth, commenced his public career, the house of Ommeyah had succeeded by mingled force and fraud in usurping the Caliphate, and rendering it hereditary; whereas it had formerly been elective. The power of the Ommeyades was chiefly secured by the valour, discipline, and attachment to their cause, of the Arab tribes who had conquered Syria. From the earliest period of their usurpation they had to contend against three hostile powers, which they had overcome indeed, but not entirely subdued. The first of these was the valour and religious influence of the house of Ali, the Lion of

God, and husband of the only daughter of the Prophet who had survived him. That the pontificate and the sovereign power should be vested by hereditary right in the house of Ali, did not content its partisans. This sect, designated as that of the Schiites, or schismatics, held that he who by divine right was pontiff and king, was also an incarnation of the Divinity. These Schiites, under the feeble guidance of their demi-gods, for the most part men of very moderate abilities, were frequently put to the sword, and as often rose again, to incur anew this fruitless martyrdom.

But to add to the marvels which marked the rise of the faith of Islam and the Empire of the Arabs, there sprung up at the same time with the sect of the Schiites, or bigoted partisans of authority, one of free-thinkers both in religion and politics, who exhibited a zeal no less fanatical. It was called that of the Kharejites "or those who go forth," namely, from the pale of obedience to the Musulman pontiffs. These Jacobins of Islam afterwards obtained as many distinctive names as they had different teachers or embraced different shades of doctrine, so that the designation of Kharejites was as vaguely comprehensive as would be, in these days, that of liberals or heretics, and their treatment at the hands of the hierarchy of Islam such as the Christians had already experienced at those of their pagan sovereigns.

The third and last opposing force with which

the Ommeyad dynasty had to contend, and which caused its overthrow within the space of a century, was the hostility of the other Arab tribes, who would not submit to the domination of those siding with the house of Ommeyah. Abdallah Ibn Zobair having constituted himself head of the central Arabian faction, if we may so call it, had openly declared himself a rebel at Mecca and Medina, in the very heart of the empire, in the year 61 (A.D. 680-1), under the reign of Yezid I., the second of the Ommeyad Caliphs who held his court at Damascus. His son Moawia II., of whom Ibn Zafer makes mention (chap. v. § v.), and who succeeded him in the year 64, abdicated, either upon philosophical principles, from scruples of conscience, or from inability to contend against the difficulties of his position; and the chiefs of the Ommeyad party raised in his stead Marwân, a daring warrior, and likewise a descendant of the house of Ommeyah. During his reign of nine months, he reconquered a great part of the empire, put the Kharejites to the sword, routed the Schiites in several bloody encounters, and frequently defeated Ibn Zobair, who had already been proclaimed Caliph; but while his troops were besieging the latter in Mecca, Marwân was poisoned or strangled by his own wife, in the year 65. He was succeeded by his son Abd-al-Malik, the fifth Ommeyad Caliph, in violation of the word of Marwân, who had promised the succession to two several persons, namely,

the son of his predecessor Yezid, and Amr Ibn Saïd, a man held in high esteem by the Ommeyyades, and of whom our author makes mention in this chapter (§ vi). Abd-al-Malik, therefore, on ascending the throne, found himself exposed to the hostility of many of the partisans of his house, as well as of the powerful tribes who obeyed Ibn Zobair; of the fanatical Schiites, and of the turbulent Kharejites; whose passions were excited anew by the divisions and crimes of the various pretenders to the sovereignty. The army, however, which had raised the house of Ommeyah to the throne, and had bestowed it upon Marwân, now maintained Abd-al-Malik upon it, despite of these numerous adversaries.

Hajjaj Ibn Yûsuf was the master spirit which animated this rude horde of pretorians. Having entered the service of the Caliph in the *Shurtah*, or *gendarmérie*, he soon signalised himself by his vigour and activity, and was recommended to the Caliph as the man best fitted to restore the discipline of the army, weakened or destroyed by continual civil wars. He therefore obtained a command, and fully answered the expectations that had been formed of him; so that Abd-al-Malik, himself a warrior and a statesman, perceiving his capabilities, entrusted to him the conduct of the enterprise against Ibn Zobair. It is not improbable, that in order to encourage the people in a war, both unjust, and, in the opinion of the times, sacrilegious, they should

have united in spreading abroad the story related by Ibn Badrun (Arabic original, edition of Dr. Dozy, Leyden, 1846, p.195) ; namely, that Hajjaj dreamed that he was flaying the Caliph of Mecca with his own hands, and that having related his dream to Abd-al-Malik, the latter exclaimed, "Thou art the man for him !" and instantly gave him the command of the army. After a siege of several months' duration, Ibn Zobair, seeing himself reduced to extremity, determined to meet his end like a hero : he made a vigorous sally, and was slain. Hajjaj was thereupon appointed governor of Irak, the ancient province of Babylon, a rich and fertile country which had become the centre of Arabian civilisation. It is not, therefore, surprising that it should have been the scene of two fearful outbreaks of the Kharejites, from 75 to 82, (A.D. 694 to 701) ; nor is it speaking figuratively to say that they were quenched in blood by Hajjaj. It was probably on these occasions that there fell in the field, and by the hand of the executioner, the greater part of the hundred and twenty thousand victims of his ferocity, of which we find mention in the annals of the time. He was not, however, deficient in ingenuity, and once sought to excuse himself, in a public discourse from the tribune, by saying : "Those in authority are as so many mirrors, in which if you contemplate yourself you will behold your own likeness ;" meaning that the fierce turbulence of the people compelled him

to this excess of cruelty. Even in those days, however, public opinion did not altogether absolve him; for Hassan-el-Basri, a man remarkable for genius, learning, and piety, and who stood high in the favour of the Caliphs, being once asked what he thought of the Caliph Abd-al-Malik:—"What can I say," replied he, "of a man upon whose name there are so many stains, one of which is Hajjaj?" The people also had a legend concerning him, to the effect that when Hajjaj came into the world he refused to suck, and that the devil, taking the form of a man, advised his being fed upon blood, by which means he became early inured to it.

This illustrious Mussulman was, however, something more than a soldier and an executioner. Even his enemies acknowledged that in elegance and purity of diction he had no rival except the aforesaid Hassan-el-Basri. He was, moreover, the first to cause the rules of Arabic grammar to be written, and money to be coined with the Mussulman stamp; for hitherto the conquerors of so large a portion of the world had been content to imitate the Byzantine coinage. Hajjaj founded the city of Wasit, in Irak; and during the twenty years that he governed that province and Persia, he acted in all things rather as an independent prince than as a governor, owing to the extensive authority which naturally devolved upon the prefects of so vast an empire,



to his own imperious and resolute character, and to his great influence at court. He, moreover, extended the limits of the empire towards the East; and Abd-al-Malik with difficulty restrained him from the invasion of Hindostan. On the death of this Caliph (86 after the Hejira, A.D. 705), Hajjaj, without waiting further sanction, sent forth two armies, one beyond the Oxus, the other across the Indus; and so well did he choose his captains and organise the plan of the campaign, that within a very brief space, the former had occupied Bokhara, Kowaresm, and part of Cabûl, and the latter ascended the eastern bank of the Indus as far as Moulân. Having concentrated the two armies on either side of the Hindoo-Koosh, or Indian Caucasus, Hajjaj commanded the leaders to attack the Chinese empire, promising to bestow the government upon the one who should first reach it. It is not improbable that, together with the conquest of China, he may have meditated that of the Caliphate, fearing the awakened hostility of the court; but his ambitious projects were cut short by death, in the year 95 after the Hejira (A.D. 713-14), when as yet he had only attained his fifty-fifth year. The jealousy of the court then displayed itself openly, the armies were recalled, and the two victorious captains rewarded with death; while at the other extremity of the world, Mûsa Ibn Nosair, who had at the same period achieved the conquest of

Spain, was deposed, bastinadoed, despoiled of everything, and his son put to death; he himself dying soon after of rage and grief.

In his sketch of the conquests of Hajjaj in India, I have taken as my guide, M. Reinaud's admirable work, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*. Paris, 1849.

<sup>10</sup> Walid, second of this name, and eleventh of the Ommeyad Caliphs of the East, ascended the throne in 125 (A.D. 743), and was slain after a reign of a year and a few months, by the partisans of his kinsman, Yezid, the son of Walid, the son of Abd-al-Malik, who had risen against him in Yemen, as our author states. The fictitious portion of Ibn Zafer's narrative begins with the introduction of the individual whom the Caliph had caused to be brought to him from the public streets, in order to consult him concerning what he should do in order to retain the sceptre, which threatened to escape from his grasp.

Such a caprice was, moreover, perfectly consistent with the character of Walid, of whom many acts are recorded which appear to afford manifest proof of his insanity. It is said that at times he used the Koran as a target for his arrows; and that he once sent for a learned man from Cufa, and told him that he did not desire to hear any exposition of the Koran, or of the traditions of the prophets, but only of the virtues of wine. These, and others yet more discreditable, were the only acts which marked his life, wasted

between song and wine, and in the company of women and jesters. The nobles, the chiefs of the army, and all the more prudent of his subjects, perceived that it was impossible to go on with a pontiff who made such an open mockery of religion; and they in consequence abetted the revolt of Yezid Ibn Walid.

<sup>11</sup> In note 9 we gave a general sketch of the difficulties in which the Ommeyad dynasty found itself involved on the accession of Abd-al-Malik; we must now descend to the particulars which are touched upon by our author.

Abd-Allah Ibn Zobair, who endeavoured to wrest the Caliphate from the house of Ommeyah, was likewise of the noble blood of the Koreish; his father had held a foremost place amongst the proselytes and captains of Mahomet; he himself had signalised himself by prodigies of valour, and to him were to be ascribed the conquest of Northern Africa, and the glorious victories of Jorjân and Tabaristân in the East. After the death of Moawia, the first Ommeyad caliph, and the slaughter of Hossain, son of Ali the Great, who had risen up to dispute the succession with the son of Ommeyah the usurper, this Abd-Allah Ibn Zobair aspired to supreme power. He refused to recognise Yezid, the son of Moawia, and continued to defend himself against the forces of the Caliph until the premature death of Yezid himself, and the abdication of his son, Moawia II., opened

an easier path to his ambition. Abd-Allah was raised to the Caliphate at Mecca in the year 64 (A.D. 684). All Hejaz and Yemen (which together form the Arabia Petræa and Arabia Felix of ancient geographers), Irak or the province of Babylon, and Egypt submitted to his rule. He had many partisans in the colony or army of Syria, and but little was wanting for the remainder to submit to him. It appears, however, that although a gallant warrior and a resolute leader in the field of battle, Abd-Allah was unfitted to conduct a campaign, and still more so to hold the reins of government in the midst of four or five contending factions. He was, moreover, parsimonious, the greatest of all vices in the eyes of the Arabs. Profiting by the errors of the Caliph of Mecca, the house of Ommeyah sought to make one more effort for the preservation of a power shared by so many adherents and dependents of the family. As there was only one infant remaining of the blood of Moawia, they elected Caliph at Damascus a collateral descendent, by name Marwân, an aged and prudent warrior. His forces at the outset were very slender, and he was compelled to make the first trial of them against his former companions in arms of the army of Syria, who, as we have said, took part with Ibn Zobair. This division took its rise in the antagonism of the two Arabian tribes of Cahtan and Adnân, the inhabitants of Central and Southern

Arabia, an antagonism which was one of the causes of the dissolution of the Mussulman Empire, and which, in later times, broke forth again, even in the Spanish colony where the Arabs had sufficient reason to unite together against the Berbers and the Christians. The two tribes of Cahtan and Adnân, marching together under the banners of Islam, had obtained a footing in Syria, and had forgotten their mutual animosities in the common interest which led to the exaltation of the Ommeyyades and the establishment of the seat of empire at Damascus. The lapse of a few years, however, sufficed to rekindle their mutual hostility, and at the stormy period of which we are speaking, the Syrian colonists of the race of Adnân took part with the Caliph recognised in their mother country of Hejaz. Hence the three captains named by our author declared for Abd-Allah, and these were: No'mân Ibn Bashir, of Medina, Emir of Hems (Emesa); Zofr Ibn Harith, of the family of Kilab, Emir of Kinnisrin (Chalcis); and Abû Anas Dahhâk Ibn Kais, of the race of Fihir, that is, of the Koreish, who commanded the district of Filistin (Lower Palestine). This is he whom Ibn Zafer designates as "Nail," which may very possibly be his real name, since "Dahhâk" is a nickname, signifying one addicted to laughter. After several vain attempts at pacification, the two factions encountered each other near Damascus, at Marj Râhit, or

the field of Râhit, for such is the meaning of Marj.

This famous battle was fought in the year 64. If we may believe Ibn Badrun (*Commentary on the poem of Ibn Abdûn*, Arabic original, Leyden, 1846, p. 184, etc.), Marwân had thirty thousand men, for the most part infantry, while sixty thousand, the greater number of whom were mounted, combated against him under the command of Dahlâk Ibn Kaïs; these being, moreover, the most distinguished for valour. Fraud, however, obtained the victory. Marwân, before the battle, proposed terms of agreement, offering to recognise Abd Allah as Caliph, and then on a sudden, when the enemy were unprepared, broke into their encampments and routed them. Dahlâk was slain; Zofr escaped by flight to Kerkisia (Circesum), and No'man, who was at Emesa, and on hearing of the defeat sought to effect his escape, was taken and put to death. Marwân entered Damascus in triumph, and marched against Egypt, which was reduced, even before his arrival, by the vanguard of his army under the command of Amr Ibn Saïd.

Mention has been made, in note 9, of the death of Marwân in the year 65, and of the exaltation of his son Abd-al-Malik. One of his rival competitors for the throne of the Caliph, was this Amr Ibn Saïd, whose revolt forms the principal subject of the present paragraph of Ibn Zafer's

work. Amr Ibn Saïd was a member of the reigning family of Damascus, and was descended from Ommeyah through Aas, his son, as was likewise Abd-al-Malik. He had, moreover, abetted Marwân in his usurpation, on the understanding that he should himself succeed him. But Abd-al-Malik having obtained the supreme power, Amr gave another proof of his simplicity by asking the new Caliph to bequeath the empire to him at his death. Abd-al-Malik made him no reply, and in the year 69 or 70 (A.D. 688-9) he marched against other and more dangerous enemies, taking Amr with him. The latter then adopted a measure which would have appeared to be beyond his capacity. When they had advanced three days' journey, he fled from the camp at night, hastened back to Damascus, ascended the tribune, caused himself to be proclaimed Caliph, took possession of the public treasure, and used every effort to increase the number of his partisans, and to fortify himself in the capital. But Abd-al-Malik, without loss of time, followed on his track, laid siege to him in the city, and found him as simple as ever, since he let himself be persuaded to open the gates upon promise of obtaining the desired succession. On the fourth day after his entrance into Damascus, the Caliph summoned him to his presence, and Amr hastened to obey, after having first beaten his wife, who endeavoured to detain him; he did indeed take the precaution of putting on a cuirass under his

clothes, and causing himself to be accompanied by an escort of four thousand men; but these he left at the gate of the castle of Abd-al-Malik, and entered with only a single page. He was immediately seized, and Abd-al-Malik, who was about to go to prayer, commanded his brother to slay him, and finding on his return that the deed had been deferred, he executed it with his own hand. These facts are derived from the *Commentary of Ibn Badrun*, pp. 204, 205, and from the *Annals of Ibn el Athir*, MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, *Suppl. Arab.* 740, bis, vol. iv., fol. xi. recto; *seqq.*

We perceive from the facts above recorded, that our author has been guilty of an anachronism in representing as contemporary with the revolt of Amr, and subsequent to the battle of Marj Râhit, the rebellion of the Emirs of Lower Palestine, Emesa, and Kinnisrin, which occurred five or six years before the attempt of Amr, and during the reign of Marwân, and not that of Abd-al-Malik. It is true that at the time of the revolt of Amr, Abd Allah Ibn Zobair was still master of Arabia and Irâk; but of his three confederates the only one who survived was Zofr Ibn Harith, who had taken refuge in Kerkisia after the defeat of Marj Râhit. The tribe of Kaïs, and others of the race of Adnân had united under his command, and had deluged Mesopotamia with blood in an obstinate contest, ending in the year 71. Ibn el Athir is in



doubt whether the flight of Amr from the camp of the caliph occurred at the time that the latter was advancing against Zofr, or in his other campaign against Ibn Zobair, a brother of Abd-Allah, who maintained himself in Irak; but it seems certain that he was not marching, as our author asserts, to attack Abd-Allah himself, against whom he sent forth Hajjaj in the year 72, after the reduction of the provinces. It appears, therefore, that Ibn Zafer uses the privilege of a romance writer, in not only introducing an imaginary personage upon the scenes, namely, the aged peasant, but in representing the order of events in the manner most convenient for displaying the wisdom of his anonymous sage. It must, however, be acknowledged that in describing the character of historical personages, he appears to adhere scrupulously to tradition. The Parable of the Foxes could not have been more appropriate; for Abd-al-Malik and Amr Ibn Saïd were both of them knaves, although the one was shrewd and the other simple. Abd-Allah Ibn Zobair, being apprised of the slaughter of Amr, announced it from the tribune at Mecca, in the following words:—"The Father of Flies has slain him whom Satan hath struck on the face. Thus God saith: 'we cause one sinner to be punished by another sinner.'"

The Father of Flies was the name given to Abd-al-Malik, on account of a disorder in his gums which rendered his breath offensive, and attracted

the flies to his mouth; any one whose mouth is awry is said to have been struck on the face by Satan; and Amr was thus designated, either on account of a natural defect of this nature, or of his great eloquence, as if his lips had been opened, or the string of his tongue loosed, by a blow from Satan himself. We find this anecdote in the *Commentary of Ibn Badrun*, p. 202.

<sup>12</sup> *Mikh Sarah* in the original. The word signifies a staff, a bâton of command, or that which was held by the preacher in the pulpit, in memory of the early days of Mahometanism, when it was required for defence against the violence of the idolaters. It means also a kind of rod. I know not which of these significations is here intended.

<sup>13</sup> *Tehama* means a low and hot country, or a sea-board. It is the distinctive appellation of the strip of Western Arabia comprised between the range of the Hejaz and the Red Sea, commencing between Mecca and Medina to the North, and ending on the confines of Yemen to the South.

The vizier of Abd-al-Malik, therefore, envied either the inert existence of the chameleon, or its remoteness from the theatre of war.

Although I do not believe the chameleon to be a living sun-dial, as represented by Ibn Zafer, yet, like the rest of its species, this animal much enjoys exposure to the sun.

<sup>14</sup> The first edition, of which I have spoken at length in the Introduction, here shows a notable

difference. I perceive this, not from the MS. 536, which is imperfect, inasmuch as a few sheets are missing at the commencement, but from the Paris MS., *Ancien Fonds*, 950, which exactly coincides with the second edition in all but the first chapter, in which it agrees perfectly with the s. A. 536. Now in that of A. F. 950, the Fable of the Two Foxes, and the two others contained in it, are inserted after the conclusion of the dialogue between the Caliph Walid and the anonymous citizen. The variation commences with the last words of the said conclusion (see chap. I. § xiii), when instead of “until that befell him which is known to every one,” we find in the first edition, “until he was deposed, as is well known.” It then resumes (MS., A. F. 950, fol. 10 verso and 11 *recto*):

The author of the book says: “Behold, I propound to you a parable concerning the excellence of the measure of trusting in God, when any question arises as to the opportuneness of an expedient to be adopted; a parable which may, I trust, serve as a medicine to your spirit to relieve it from doubt. Moreover, I will adorn it with fragments of philosophy and erudition, to sharpen the intellect, arouse the mind, and unveil the face of truth, if it please God. I say, therefore, that it may be that God created two foxes gifted with understanding, to whom he gave the special gift of wisdom, as he did to the lapwing of Solomon with whom be peace; which, amidst the divine miracles,

would be no great marvel; and it might well be that one of these foxes were called Zâlim, and were really wicked, as the name implies. This fox was possessed of a hole," and so on, as in § vii of the present chapter.

<sup>15</sup> I adopt the reading of the MS. s. A. 536. s. A. 535 has "To die seeking vengeance is better than live in dishonour."

<sup>16</sup> Literally: "To enable me to devise a stratagem, and reveal to me one of the faces of the measure to be adopted in the matter of your hole."

<sup>17</sup> Literally: "Absence leaves but his shadow after his person is gone." The latter portion of this sentence is part of an Arabic proverb: "To seek the shadow after the substance is departed." (See Freytag, *Proverbia Arabum*, vol. i., p. 235.) According to s. A. 535 and some of the other manuscripts, instead of "leaves" we find "returns." This sentence begins the ancient portion of s. A. 536, of which the first ten sheets are in a much more modern handwriting.

Here in the more ancient manuscripts, as well as in all the rest, we find half a page which it is happily unnecessary to translate. The unfortunate author, who had experienced all the miseries of exile, meeting with the word *ghorbeh*, which signifies absence, separation, or pilgrimage, fastens upon it, dissects it, and observes that the letters of which it is composed are the initial

letters of many other words, of which he gives a list, signifying misfortune and suffering and all the bitter consequences of exile.

<sup>18</sup> I have made frequent mention of the variations to be found in s. A. 536, and which prove it to be the first edition afterwards corrected by the author, with omissions and additions. The fragment which begins here and finishes with § x—that is, the Fable of the Peacock and the Cock—is one of those which are to be found only in s. A. 536. This was assuredly not suppressed from fear or by command of the censorship, as is probable in the case of some other passages; nor do I believe it to have been expunged on account of lesser beauty of form or of matter. I therefore presume that, upon reflection, the author considered it bad taste to insert so many stories one within the other. This is, indeed, customary in the *Hitopadesa*, and to a lesser degree in *Kalila and Dimna*, and any one acquainted with these Indian fables may remember the weariness caused him by reading so many different apologues awkwardly strung together. Ibn Zafer, whilst imitating the Indian style, sought to avoid this defect, and hence probably curtailed the whole of this passage in the second edition.

In my translation I have, as I observed above, followed this second edition of the *Solwân*, replacing, however, such passages of the first edition as appear to have been sacrificed to the

prejudices of the times in which the author lived. Those that were expunged by a refinement of taste I have mentioned in the notes, when they appear of sufficient importance to require it. I have, however, made an exception in favour of the present apologue and the reflections which precede it, thinking that it has sufficient merit in itself to cause the reader to overlook its Indian construction. It may, moreover, serve as a specimen of the form adopted by the author in the fables of the first edition, at the commencement of which he always takes the precaution of saying: "It may be that such and such things came to pass, and that these animals spoke thus and thus," etc.

<sup>19</sup> The text adds: "and the primitive type they are meant to represent."

<sup>20</sup> Here we find, as in many stories in the first edition, "The author of the book, whose sins may God assoil, says," etc.

<sup>21</sup> Solomon is to the Arabs the type of all learning and wisdom. They believe that, by the assistance of God, and the acuteness of his own intellect, he had become acquainted with all the powers of nature, and employed them miraculously for the good of man, and the advancement of the faith in the one true God, being at once a king, a philosopher, and a prophet. Amongst other things he understood the language of animals, commanded legions of beasts and of genii,

and governed the winds. These traditions were doubtless current in Arabia in the time of Mahomet, who, like all legislators, built upon other men's foundations. Thus in many parts of the Koran mention is made of the marvels wrought by Solomon. In chapter xxvii., v. 16, we find record of a great congress of the triple host of genii, men, and birds, that obeyed the commands of Solomon, in which the king perceiving that the lapwing was missing, was about to punish it, when the miraculous bird appeared to excuse itself for the delay, and to bring him news of the Queen of Saba. The lapwing of Solomon, therefore, holds in the Koran the same place that Balaam's ass does in the Bible.

<sup>22</sup> Literally: "All individuals are like a single individual united in a common bond for the endurance of suffering." The words which I translate "united in a common bond," but which is better rendered by *solidarité*, is *silâhiyah*, which is not to be found in the lexicons, but which may be easily understood if we consider its derivation and grammatical form. The original derivation is from the root *salah*, to be suitable, to be in good condition; and its immediate derivation, from the infinitive *silâh* (3rd form of the verb), which signifies to agree mutually, to make peace, of one accord to make up a difference. Its grammatical form is that so aptly designated by M. de Sacy as the *abstract noun of quality*, upon which

form any part of speech may be constructed. For example: the quality of being singular or plural; the quality of surpassing others; the abstract essence of any action. Now the abstract quality of entering into an agreement, or forming a league for the endurance in common of the ills of individual members, appears to be correctly rendered by *solidarité*, for which there is no English equivalent.

It ought to be mentioned that in the only ancient MS. in which this passage exists, the word in question is written with its vowels thus, *salâhiyah*; in which case it would be the abstract noun of quality of the word *salâh*, "good;" or else "prosperity," "completeness." Its abstract noun would therefore be "goodness;" but this united with the context would have little or no meaning; of the two interpretations which offered themselves, I have therefore preferred my own; and this the more readily, that in the similar MS. in the library at Leyden the word is written without vowels. For those who are not Orientalists, it may be well to mention that, in Arabia, the vowels which have no accent are only designated by a little mark, usually omitted, and often misplaced by copyists.

<sup>23</sup> Literally, "if he be consoled by them."

<sup>24</sup> The word *maula*, used by the author, means, indifferently, either the patron or the dependant of another, which are distinguished by adding,



“superior” or “inferior” *maula*. Freedmen are also called *maula*, as they continue retainers of their former master.

<sup>25</sup> This sentence appears at first obscure; but supposing the people and the military to have formed two hostile parties, as appears to have been the case in Persia at the time of the Sassanides, each would probably complain of any mark of favour shown to the other as unjust.

<sup>26</sup> The foregoing paragraph concludes the additional portion found in MS. s. A. 536, and the Fable of the Foxes goes on as in the other MSS., between which the variations are very trifling. There is a difference, however, as to the manner of Zâlim's death. Instead of blocking himself up in Mufawwâd's den, and there being burnt alive in consequence of the faggot having accidentally caught fire, Zâlim, according to s. A. 536, sets fire to the den under the impression that Mufawwâd is in it; the flame being extinguished, he goes in, and is there buried alive, as some masses of earth, loosened by the fire, fall down at that moment and choke up the entrance. The narrative in the second edition is less improbable, and accords more closely with the circumstances of the revolt of Amr Ibn Saïd, who took possession of Damascus, and fortified himself in it during the absence of the caliph.

<sup>27</sup> The *Dirhem* is worth about sixpence.—*Dirhem*, of which the Latin *taremus* and Italian

*tari* is probably a corruption, was itself a corruption of the Greek δραχμή.

<sup>28</sup> The historical facts here set forth by Ibn Zafer are perfectly in accordance with the authorities I have consulted, namely, the annals of Ibn el Athir, (MSS. of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, *Suppl. Arab.*, 702, bis, vol. iv., fol. 174, *seqq.*); *Traité de la Conduite des Rois*, a fragment of an Arabic MS. published by M. Cherbonneau (*Journal Asiatique*, vol. vii., an. 1846); *Ibn Khallikan* (English version by M. de Slane, vol. i., p. 649, *seqq.*, and vol. ii., p. 468); the Arabic MS., *Ad-dual al Islamiya*, quoted by M. de Slane in a note to *Ibn Khallikan*, vol. ii., p. 471; and the Commentary of Ibn Badrun, (Arabic original, p. 247, *seqq.*) I will give a brief sketch of the contest between Al-Amîn and Al-Mamûn, as gathered from the sources above-mentioned.

These two princes of the House of Abbas reigned in succession, and were both sons of the famous Harûn-al-Raschid, who loved and cherished his first-born, Al-Mamûn, the offspring of one of his slaves, as much as he despised Al-Amîn, the son of the noble, beautiful, and virtuous Zobeida. The father's feelings were, however, justified by their objects; and Mamûn had, moreover, a just claim to be preferred before his brother, inasmuch as the Mussulman law acknowledges no difference between the child of a wife and that of a concubine. It is probable, nevertheless, that Harûn-al-Raschid

called Amîn to the throne in order to gratify Zobeida, although greatly to the detriment of the state; and wishing to satisfy at once reason and caprice, and to secure the throne to his three sons successively, he paid no heed to the records of the earlier caliphs, nor did he call to mind, as Ibn el Athir justly observes, that which had befallen himself when his brother Mûsa al Hadi sought to deprive him of the succession to the caliphate, as decreed by his father. He believed that guarantees, oaths, and the influence of religion would suffice to restrain a despot, and therefore solemnly promulgated a decree awarding the throne to Al-Amîn, Al-Mamûn, and Al-Motamin in succession, which he caused to be sworn to by his sons, his captains, and the civil authorities, and went himself in state to deposit the deed in the sanctuary of the *Caaba*. It was, moreover, his desire that during the reign of Amîn his two brothers should retain the government of some of the provinces, with the command of the public revenue, the armed force, and all the muniments of war, of which their brother the Caliph should be unable to deprive them; and this he caused to be likewise promised by the captains of the host. Such is the blindness of men, even of the highest intellect, where the future is concerned.

On the death of Harûn-al-Raschid (in the year 193 after the Hejira, A.D. 809), dissensions broke forth between Amîn and Mamûn, whose cha-

racters were widely opposed to each other. The former was absorbed in idleness and luxury, which had rendered him so frivolous, that when he afterwards declared open war against his brother, and his army was defeated, the news being brought to him while he was fishing in the Tigris: "Let me alone," said he to the messenger, "Kautar has already taken two large fish, and I have not caught one!" Kautar was one of his favourite slaves. While Amîn was thus idling away his life in the palace at Bagdad, Mamûn was acquiring experience in the affairs of the government of Khorassan, which had been entrusted to him by his father, addicting himself to scientific studies and to philosophy, gradually losing much of his faith in the doctrines of Islam, and studying without scruple those of illustrious Pagans, whether dead or living. A sagacious statesman, Fadhl Ibn Sahl, a Guebre, who, at the request of Mamûn, had made or feigned to make profession of the faith of Islam, in the year 190, was the Mentor of this prince whom he led to the throne almost against his will. Meanwhile another minister, likewise named Fadhl, and whose surname was Ibn Rabi', a perfidious fool, governed the counsels of the thoughtless Amîn, and incited him to deprive Mamûn of the succession.

The circumstances of this *coup d'état*, which are variously related by the several chroniclers, bear a tolerably close resemblance to the lively narrative

of Ibn Zafer. Amîn having been persuaded by his vizier to the violation of the family compact, first sounded the captains of the army, whom he found nowise disposed to side with him. He then endeavoured to attract his brother to Bagdad under false pretences; but as the latter was not to be thus entrapped, in the year 194 (A.D. 809-10), he, without further delay, caused the names of Mamûn and Motamin to be omitted in the public prayers, in which mention had hitherto been made of them as presumptive heirs to the throne, and lastly, in the following year, he seized in the *Caaba* the deeds in which the order of succession was decreed, and proclaimed as his heir his own son Mûsa, upon whom he bestowed the surname recorded by our author, and assigned to him Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Mâhân as tutor, which is confirmed by Ibn el Athîr.

Many were the measures meanwhile discussed in the councils of Mamûn, who held his court at Marw, the capital of Khorassan. The greater number of his councillors recommended submission as the lesser evil; and he was on the point of deciding in its favour, when his courage was revived by Fadhl Ibn Sahl, who audaciously boasting that of himself alone he would have power to make him caliph, advised him to keep his brother in play, and finally induced him to renounce all obedience, on the proclamation of Mûsa as successor and imprisonment at Bagdad of the trustees

of Mamûn's private property. The secret agents of Fadhl Ibn Sahl were not, however, suspected. They sate at the right hand of Amîn's vizier, and counselled him to entrust the conduct of the campaign against Khorassan to Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Mâhân, who had governed that province in the time of Harûn-al-Raschid, and had been recalled in the year 191, at the request of the inhabitants themselves, for peculation and other misdeeds. To put him, therefore, at the head of the army sent against Mamûn, would be to excite the whole country to resistance. Of this we are informed by Ibn el Athir. Ali Ibn Isa, who had probably been deceived in his turn by similar artifices, afterwards told Amîn that he had received letters from Khorassan, holding out to him prospects of the most brilliant success. He was therefore appointed to command an army of 50,000 men, and supplied with everything needful for carrying on the war, including a large sum of money. We find record on this occasion of a singular instance of oriental benevolence. The gentle Zobeidâ, mother of the caliph and step-mother of Mamûn, being unable in any other way to assist the favourite son of Harûn-al-Raschid, summoned Ali Ibn Isa to her presence before his departure, and enjoined him, should the fortune of war place Mamûn in his hands, not to injure a hair of his head; above all requesting him not to ride before the prince on the march, nor to separate

him from his wives, and if it were necessary to bind him, to do so at least with fetters of silver with which she supplied him.

Mamûn, in the meantime, encouraged by his renegade Guebre, was preparing for war with forces very inferior to those of the Caliph, but he had the good fortune to secure the services of two distinguished captains, Taher Ibn Hosein and Horthoma, who with a handful of men confronted the army of Ali Ibn Isa, at Rai, a city near Teheran, now reduced to a village. They performed prodigies of valour, but would probably have been overpowered by numbers, had not Taher requested a momentary suspension of arms; he then fastened on the top of a lance the deed in which Ali Ibn Isa had sworn obedience to the law of succession laid down by Harûn-al-Raschid; and calling him by name, he showed him the writing, crying aloud, "Behold thou art come to the brink of thy grave!" According to some, after uttering these words, he led a charge and slew Ali with his own hand, but Ibn el Athir states that he, Taher, dashed upon a certain Hatim, of the tribe of Tai, who sought to vindicate the honour of his leader, grasping his scimitar with both hands severed his scull, and then charging with his followers, routed the enemy, struck with consternation at this display of the strength of Taher, or of the justice of Heaven. This battle was fought in the year 195. After many vicissitudes of fortune, the two

captains laid siege to Bagdad, and Amîn, reduced to extremity and forsaken by all, was taken in crossing the Tigris (198 of the Hejira, A.D. 813-4), slain, and his head cut off and sent to Khorassan to his brother, who thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed the Commander of the Faithful.

It may be perceived from this narrative that Ibn Zafer has altered nothing but the name and condition of the councillor of Mamûn, Fadhl Ibn Sahl, whom he represents as an old man, and a stranger at the court of Khorassan. The object of this transformation may easily be divined. Ibn Zafer maintains throughout the whole of the first chapter of the Solwân, that in affairs of state, it is the duty of man to trust in God, or, in more explicit terms, to confide in the justice of his cause committing himself unreservedly into the hands of Providence. Hence the author of this historical romance must of necessity incline to depreciate the human means employed in furtherance of the right, and in the present case would naturally prefer a councillor provided by chance to one chosen upon mature deliberation many years previously. Ibn Zafer adheres to the truth in all other particulars, such as the former religion of the councillor, his conversion, and his descent from an ancient royal house, of which Fadhl was wont to vaunt himself, as we find in the *Traité de la Conduite des Rois* (*Jour. Asiat.*, vol. cit., p. 317). We may add that the old man was not an ideal



personage imagined by Ibn Zafer, but one of whom mention is made in collections of ancient anecdotes, as is proved by a passage in Ibn Badrun's *Historical Commentary*, written a few years after the Solwân, and which makes it appear that he had the same materials to work upon as Ibn Zafer, each one selecting such portions as suited him best. He relates that Mamûn had at his court an old man remarkable for wisdom, sent to him as a rare and precious gift by the Prince of Kalha, a city of India, on the Coromandel Coast according to some. This man, being interrogated by Fadhl Ibn Sahl concerning his vaunted abilities, gave himself out, without any show of superfluous modesty, to be very learned in the affairs of state; and it should appear that his statement obtained credence, since Mamûn consulted him at so important a crisis; whereupon he encouraged him in Sybilline language and in rhyming prose to send forth Taher with only 4000 men, taking care that they should set forth at the precise moment of the rising of Lucifer, and then to reckon confidently upon victory. After his triumph, Mamûn desired to give him 100,000 *dirhems*, which the old man refused, demanding a higher recompense, namely, a book of great value, buried at Madain (Ctesiphon), under the palace of Chosroes Anûshirewân. It is needless here to describe the process of excavation, the finding of the MS., &c. This old man being known as an oracle in politics, and being, moreover,

a believer in astrology, a science which Ibn Zafer derided, would scarcely have suited his purpose, and it is probable that for this reason he presented him to his readers under a somewhat modified form.

<sup>29</sup> *Mûsa* is the Arabic name for Moses.

<sup>30</sup> I have adopted the term *Magian* because it is that used by the author; but those commonly known to us as Guebres did not call themselves by either of these names. When their religion flourished in Persia, they designated themselves, as Mazdiesnan, Mazdasn, or Mazdiesn, being all variations of the same word, signifying "servants of Hormuzd." (Sacy, *Mém. sur les Antiq. de la Perse*, Paris, 1793, pp. 39, 47).

Magi, or Magians, seems to have been originally the name of a people. Herodotus enumerates them amongst the tribes of Media (Book I., chap. ci.), at the time of Dejoces, that is, according to Ctesias, seven centuries before the Christian era. Herodotus, himself, speaking of more recent times, designates as Magi (Book I., chap. cvii., cviii.), the priests of that form of Sabaism united to the worship of fire, which the father of history describes as an existing form of worship. Ammianus Marcellinus likewise affirms (book XXIII., chap. vi.), that the Magi were at once a tribe and a sacerdotal order. In Indian records of modern date, but referring to remote antiquity, we likewise find the Magi designated as a sacerdotal tribe, deriving their origin

from Media. We read in the *Bhavishya Purana* that the earliest ministers of the Temple of the Sun at Sambapura, or Moulân, were called *Maga*,—were the offspring of the sun, and came from Sâka Dwipa, the country of the Sâka, or Scythians (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi., and Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 392, 393). There is, therefore, a remarkable coincidence between the two traditions handed down to us by the Greeks and by the Indians, as to their name, their condition as a sacerdotal tribe, and their country; namely, Northern Media, the Aderbijan of modern and Atropatene of ancient geography; both of which signify “the land of fire,” the seat of the chief temple of fire of Persia (Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, Book II., chap. xxiv), where so many vestiges are still to be found of the temples of the sun, and of fire. This was, according to the Indians, the country of the Scythians; and so enduring are popular customs, that the former still go on pilgrimage to Sherwan and Mazanderan, provinces adjacent to Aderbijan, on the shores of the Caspian; in the former of which, in the peninsula named Abcheron, on the western coast of the Caspian and to the north of Baku, there is a spot in the neighbourhood of numerous springs of naphtha, where so abundant a quantity of, probably carburetted, hydrogen gas is generated in the bowels of the earth, that it is only necessary to insert a tube into the ground and apply a light to it, in order to obtain a jet of

flame similar to those which give light to the streets of our towns. We find here a monastery of fire-worshippers, Indians of the Punjâb, in the courtyard of which is a square room, from the corners of which protrude four similar tubes which are kept perpetually burning. The cells of the friars are lighted by pipes of baked clay inserted into the ground; and it appears that at times the God of fire is somewhat too liberal of his favour to his worshippers, for the gas mixed with atmospheric air, explodes if a light be placed in contact with it. This sanctuary is the principal object of pilgrimage. The whole of Mazanderan is covered with ruins of temples of fire. (See Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i., p. 261; Forster's *Journey from Bengal to Petersburg*; and the narrative of a Russian traveller in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. xi., p. 358.) It appears to me not impossible that the celebrity of the Magi may have been owing to the fortuitous circumstance which caused their tribe to take possession of the territory thus hallowed by a standing miracle. They may, perhaps, have found occasion to enter into an association with the Persian kings of the first dynasty, denominated *Paishdadian*, or "of the first law" (see note 43 to this chapter), whose simple worship was dedicated to the heavenly bodies and to the powers of nature; for amidst the obscurity of Persian mythology, we find the worship of fire united to that of the heavenly bodies, when a king caused fire to issue

from a stone. Then images came to be held in honour ; after which was adopted the worship of some divinities of the Arabians and Assyrians ; and lastly came the reformation of Zoroaster, of which Herodotus makes no mention. Thus, it appears that the Magi having become hereditary priests of Persia, engrafted upon the ancient stock of their religion the ideas and superstitions of other more civilised people, blending their various theogonies and cosmogonies with the loftier principles of moral truth.

This religion was refined and purified by the reforms of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, who, according to tradition, was a member of the priesthood, and native of Aderbijan. I will not enter upon the dispute concerning the period at which Zoroaster lived, which is the more difficult to determine, as we know not whether all the doctrines referred to him are really to be attributed to the same age and to the same man. Far from being like Mahomet, the single and undoubted compiler of a new religious code, Zoroaster may have been no more than a myth, or a real personage invested with a halo of fabulous glory ; one of many reformers, to whom in after times were attributed all the doctrines of his school, with the addition of sinless birth, an austere life, and numerous miracles, all of which we find in the traditions of Zoroaster. In either case, it cannot be doubted that the priesthood encouraged and promoted a

reform, which, by introducing a more complicated form of worship, a more rigorous code of morals and more subtle dogmas, favoured the interests and the power of its ministers. This reformed worship having originated with the sacerdotal tribe, it is not unnatural that it should have acquired its name, and that foreigners should have bestowed the appellation of Magi, without distinction, upon all the worshippers of Hormuzd. It was under this new signification that it became known in Western Asia, in Europe, and in India, of which we find proofs in the writings of the Greeks, Romans, and Jews. In Arabic the name was corrupted into *Mugius*, perhaps in accordance with the dialect of Southern Persia. In the Indian languages it preserved the same sound as in Greek, and it is well known that all the disciples of Zoroaster were there designated as *Maga*. (See Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 92, 122.)

In the language of Persia, or rather in some of its dialects, *Muy* signified a priest, without special application to those of the religion of the state; who were known as *mobed*, *dustor*, and *herbod*, according to their rank. After the Mussulman conquest, the persecuted priests of Hormuzd, were called *Mug* as a term of reproach, and this name is still applied to them as well as to Christian priests, and metaphorically, also, to tavern-keepers. (See Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i., p. 200.)

To the east of the Euphrates, on the other hand, even from very ancient times, this distinctive appellation, of a tribe, a caste, and a form of religion, was used as a generic term, to designate those who were learned in the occult sciences, workers of miracles, astrologers and necromancers; and for many centuries the Magi or Magicians were objects of universal reverence and terror.

<sup>31</sup> This legal argument is found only in the MS. s. A. 536.

<sup>32</sup> According to s. A. 536, literally: "those valiant men upon whose devotion you can count." The other MSS. have only "the valiant men." The word *Muwálâh*, which I translate "devotion," the infinitive of the third form of the verb *wala*, may also signify the connexion between the lord and the freedman, between the head of a family and his retainers, etc., but here it is evidently used in a more comprehensive sense.

<sup>33</sup> Literally: "until God shall have completed his work."

<sup>34</sup> According to s. A. 536, literally: "the Cause of Causes."

In s. A. 537, we find, "the First amongst the First;" a periphrasis often employed in the Persian narratives of the Solwân, to indicate the sole person of the Godhead, the Creator of the world and of the two spiritual beings Hormuzd and Ahriman, or the good and evil principles, typified the one by darkness and the other by light. The First Cause

continued to be acknowledged in the minds and in the writings of philosophers; while the mass of mankind naturally confined their homage to the active Principle of good, and finally transferred it from the principle to its visible symbols, namely, the sun and fire.

s. A. 536 is the only MS. which has the reading the sons (or race) of Brahman ;" all the others say, " of the sons of the Brahmins," which, being in the plural, does not agree with the following word *Saiyd*, which I have rendered "prince," and which answers to lord, signifying a man in authority, and being at the same time a title of honour. Among the ancient Arabs, it signified the elective chief of a tribe. This word, vulgarly pronounced *sid*, has become famous in Europe as the title of Ruy de Bivar, known as "the Cid," *par excellence*.

The statement, "I am a Brahman of the race of Brahman, prince of the kings of Persia, and holding an intermediate place between them and the Great First Cause," would at first sight appear to be an error on the part of the author. It may, however, be presumed, that Ibn Zafer's information concerning this mythical personage was not less correct than ours at the present day. Masûdi, a Mussulman historian and geographer, who lived in the tenth century of the Christian era, had already interpreted the myths concerning Brahman. According to him, India was originally inhabited by several independent tribes, the chiefs of which



afterwards united in the form of an oligarchy, and finally resolved upon the election of a king, or *supreme father*, as he was called. This supreme Father was Brahma, who first proclaimed the existence of a life-giving principle by whose favour life is preserved; he caused temples to be erected, and metals to be worked, encouraged the study of astronomy, and, in short, laid all the foundations of a civilised society. (Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 46.) This narrative of Masudi proves that the philosophy of history is no modern discovery, and that the Arab historian, and the Eastern sages with whom he was in communication, had clearly comprehended the organisation of society, had followed it up through the labyrinth of fable and tradition, and had detected the lawgiver in the supposed demi-god of India. Ibn Zafer was doubtless acquainted with the writings of Masudi, but as he here speaks, not in his own person, but in that of the aged Guebre, we must seek the interpretation of his words in the probable belief of the Persian sage, and for this we must in the first place refer to the mythology of India.

It is well known that the Brahmins are the sacerdotal caste of India, but that their religion differs widely from the simplicity of the principles contained in the *Vedas*, or sacred writings of the country, composed at least 1300 years before the Christian era, and consequently before the Trojan

war. According to the more modern Indian mythology, whose origin is likewise anterior to our era, Brahm, "the self-existent," according to the signification of the word in Sanscrit, revealed himself in the *Trimurti*, or Indian Trinity, which consisted of Brahma, the creator; Siva, the destroyer and regenerator; and Vishnu, the preserver, who became incarnate several times, in order to the fulfilment of his celestial mission. Brahma having created the universe, and many different orders of spirits and of genii all more or less rebellious, resolved at length to people our globe. To this end, having opened his mouth, he breathed forth the first man, Brahman, to whom he entrusted the four *Vedas*. Then perceiving that Brahman, thus alone in the world, was in danger of being devoured by wild beasts, the Father of all Things shook from his right arm<sup>s</sup> Kshetriya, and from his left Kshetriyani, his wife; he then caused Vaisya and his wife to come forth from his legs; and, lastly, from his feet the degraded Sudra, who likewise received a helpmate. Brahman took to himself a wife of the daughters of the genii, and from him sprung the hereditary priesthood; from Kshetriya, the warriors with their chiefs or princes, an aristocracy created expressly for the defence of the priesthood; from Vaisya, the agriculturists, merchants, and artificers, a middle class instituted for the support of the aristocracy and prelacy; lastly, from Sudra, the servants and lowest

class of labourers, a race of serfs destined for the service of the three higher classes. Thus, in ancient India, we find the precise image of our own feudal times, rendered immutable by the petrifying influence of caste. In this tradition we find disguised, under the cloak of a celestial origin, the events which formed the social system of India, and of which the most recent was the subjugation of the dusky Indian nation by a people of another race, whose blood may still be traced, according to some, in the fairer complexion of the superior castes, while authentic evidence of the difference of the two is afforded by the *Rig-Veda*, the most ancient of the four above-mentioned. Thus the vanquished sprang from the feet of Brahman. In those issuing from his legs we recognise the agricultural and industrious tribes who had some affinity with the race of the conquerors, and were subdued by them before the passage of the Indus; while those who sprung from the arms and head of the God were, doubtless, the nomadic people, amongst whom the priesthood, and perhaps the monarchy, already existed at the remote era of the *Vedas*, if the latter did not take its rise at the close of the long period of time assigned to the composition of the hymns they contain. In this mythology, in which the origin of the conquerors of India was typified by that of mankind, Brahman became of necessity the first representative of authority upon earth, and therefore assumed an

intermediate position between the Deity and the human race, and might be regarded as the prince or lord of the kings of Persia, as well as of all other kings and people, who, according to the Brahmins, dispersed themselves over the face of the globe from India ; just as the Persians asserted the world to have been peopled from Persia, and the Greeks from Greece, after the deluge of Deucalion. The speech of Ibn Zafer's old man is, therefore, thoroughly in accordance with the Indian mythology ; but the expression, "holding an intermediate place between them and the Cause of Causes," reveals his Guebre origin. There appears, therefore, to have been a mingling of creeds, some inquiry concerning which may not be misplaced.

I will not dwell upon the affinity between the primitive religions of India and Persia. The nations themselves, or rather the dominant classes of both, had a common origin, as is proved by the analogy existing between the Zend and the Sanscrit, and the analogy between the four castes of India and the four classes of Persia. The connection between their respective religions is still more obvious. Up to the time of the reform of Zoroaster, we find in Persia the same horror of animal food which exists to this day among the Brahmins. Some of the ceremonies of their worship were likewise similar ; such as the sacred girdle, the *kusti* of the Persians, and *munja* of the Indians ;

the prayer called *savistri*, addressed by the latter to the rising and setting sun, etc. But in their cosmogony and theogony, the traces of their common origin are still more evident :—in the division of the terraqueous globe into seven parts ; in the cycles of countless years assigned for the renovation of the human race ; in the mysterious mountains, the “Alborj” of the Persians, and “Meru” of the Indians ; and, lastly, in the fundamental principles of their theology. The First Cause, denominated by the Persians, “Zerwane Akerene,” entrusts the creative power to Hormuzd, and then abandons the fate of creation to the vicissitudes of the struggle between him and Ahriman, reserving to himself to make the good principle triumph, at the end of the world, by the interposition of Mitra-Mithras, a divinity of both sexes, whose name both in Zend and in Sanscrit signifies at once “sun” and “love.” Likewise in the Indian theology, the latent essence, Brahm, reveals himself in the person of the god Brahmâ, who suffers Vishnu and Siva to maintain against each other a struggle in which Vishnu always prevails, thanks to his pious frauds and frequent incarnations. The interposition of Mitra-Mithras completes the resemblance between the twofold godhead of the Persians and the Indian Trinity, and both finally reduce themselves to the fundamental principle of the unity of the godhead, represented by the Brahm of the Indians, the Zerwane Akerene of

the Persians, and perhaps, also, by the Kronos of the Assyrians, and the *Xρόνος*, or Saturn, of the Greeks. These remarks apply to the mythologies of India and Persia, such as we find them some three hundred years before the Christian era. Were we to trace them further back, to the religion of the *Vedas* in the one country, and the Sabaism mentioned by Herodotus in the other, we should find a still more striking resemblance between them (and possibly also to the early doctrines of the Greeks and Chaldeans), so that even some passages of the *Zendavesta* coincide with others of the *Vedas*; but our purpose is not so much to prove the common origin, as the intermixture, in more modern times, of the two forms of worship. Their analogy, observed so early as by Ammianus Marcellinus (book xxiii., chap. vi.), is now universally admitted. (See Malcolm's *History of Persia*, chap. ii., iii., and vii, and pp. 206-7, vol. i., where he gives a fragment of Ferdosi concerning the four classes of Persians; Mirkond, *Early Kings of Persia*, translated by Dr. Shea, London, 1832, with notes by the translator; Creuzer, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, compiled in French by M. Giugniaut, Books i. and ii., with the corresponding notes; Heeren, *De la Politique, etc., et des Peuples de l'Antiquité*, French translation, vols. i. and iii., *passim*; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 92; and Mr. Wilson's *Introduction to the English Version of the first Ashtaka of the Rig-Veda*, London, 1850.)

Besides the general resemblance of the two religions, we find in the provinces between India and Persia, and especially in Afghanistan and the northern states of India, a religion compounded of that of the Magi and of Brahma, as if the two had become commingled on the confines of their respective countries, of which the most ancient evidence is to be found in the custom which prevails to this day amongst the Indians, of going on pilgrimage to the little temple of the sun at Baku, and to Mazanderan (see note 30). We learn from Philostratus (quoted by M. Reinand, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 93), that in the northern regions of India, in the first century after Christ, the worship of the sun was observed, together with the prohibition of animal food. The mixture of creeds is proved in Afghanistan by some Bactrian and Indo-Scythian medals, dating from a little before or after the Christian era. (See *Journal Asiatique*, Nov. 1828, p. 321, etc.; *Mém. de M. Schlegel*.) At Moul-tân, between the Indus and the Ganges, and near to the principal seat of Brahminism, there was a famous and very wealthy temple of the sun, which continued in existence until the conquest of the city by the Mussulmans in the expedition undertaken by order of Hajjaj Ibn Yûsuf. (See note 9 to this chapter; and for the temple of Moul-tân, Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans sur l'Inde*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1844-5.) This temple is the very one of which the foundation is

attributed, in the *Bhavishya-Purana*, to Samba, son of Khrishna, one of the incarnations of Vishnu; and the worship of the sun must have been anterior to its foundation, since there already existed a celebrated wood dedicated to Mithras, in which Samba was cured of the leprosy with which, according to the belief of the ancient Persians, quoted by Herodotus (Book I., chap. cxxxviii), such persons were afflicted as offended against the sun. Samba having determined to erect a temple in gratitude for his cure, the sun pointed out to him the form under which he chose to be worshipped. The Brahmins consented; but being forbidden by their religion to minister in this temple, they counselled the prince to summon the Magi, as recorded in note 30. (See Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 391, etc.) The temple of Moulân was visited in the fifth century by the Chinese traveller, Hiuent-sang, who saw a similar one at Canoge, and another in the vale of Cashmere (Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Ind.* pp. 98 and 154). Albyruni, who followed the conqueror of India, Mahmûd of Ghuznee, at the commencement of the eleventh century, states that the natives ascribed to this temple an antiquity of above 200,000 years. He himself is content to prove the existence in the fifth century of fire-worship in India and Cabûl. It is attested in the following century, in the time of Chosroes Anû-shirewân, by the Persian traditions recorded by Ibn Zafer in chap. III., § vii, of the Solwân.



Hence it appears, that this form of worship was exercised, together with Brahminism, and afterwards with Buddhism, in the regions between Persia and India, and was supported by the petty princes who governed them, either from local interest, as at Moulân, or in order to render themselves as far as possible independent of Persia. When the latter country was conquered by the Mussulmans, they firmly adhered to the faith of their forefathers, and afforded an asylum to the Guebres, or Magi, from the fierce persecution of the conquerors, who did not invade these regions until the time of Mahmûd of Ghuznee. Many books on the subject of the doctrines of Zoroaster have been attributed to these fugitive Guebers, who are likewise supposed to have endeavoured to engraft Brahminical ideas upon the history and religion of Persia. Be this as it may, it is sufficient for us to have proved that at the time of Mahmûd, in the beginning of the ninth century, a Guebre of Khorassan or Cabûl might well acknowledge a heretical creed tinctured with Brahminism, and consider it matter of boasting to be lineally descended from Brahman, who held an intermediate place between the Great First Cause and the kings of Persia.

<sup>35</sup> Under the Mussulman domination the term *dimmi*, or "vassals," was applied to those subjects who were not Mahometans, but to whom the exercise of their religion was permitted, with certain

restrictions and tokens of political subjection, and on condition of the payment of the *jziyah*, or "annual tribute," a sort of "black mail" for the security of their lives and property. This power of insurance was granted at first only to the *Kitabi*, or "men of the book," believers in one God and in a revelation, namely, the Christians, Jews, and Sabeans. To the fire-worshippers, though sometimes refused, it was more frequently granted, but never to the idolaters, to whom no alternative was allowed but that of conversion or death. The fire-worshippers were at first regarded as idolaters, but afterwards admitted to the privileges of vassalage.

<sup>36</sup> According to a custom which prevailed in many of the Mussulman states, the public officials, and those of the household of the prince, wore a species of livery, that is, a dress of a peculiar colour. It is well known that the colour of the Abassides was black, and that Mamûn, after he had become caliph, was brought to the brink of destruction by seeking to change the official colour to green, which was that of the descendants of Ali. The aged Guebre had already, at the commencement of his conversation with Mamûn, used the expression, "clothe me with the mantle of your confidence." It appears, therefore, that Mamûn intended to bestow upon him some office at court or in the state.

<sup>37</sup> MS., s. A. 536. In s. A. 535, we find, "He who is a liar cannot give counsel."

<sup>38</sup> In the first edition this maxim is prefaced by the words, "the author of the book says."

<sup>39</sup> In the MSS. of the Solwân the name of this prince is written Koushnawar. I have corrected it as Kush-nawaz, according to the orthography of Mirkond and all other writers. The name of the nation I have written according to the Greek pronunciation, *Εφθαλίται* handed down to us by Procopius, and which agrees with that of the Armenian writers. The Arabs and Persians wrote it *Hayathelah*. Some western authors, owing to a mistake of the copyists, have transformed it into Naphthalites, and others have fallen into the graver error of confounding this people with the Cidarites.

The Hephthalites, or white Huns, were in fact a branch of the Huns, but differed from the dreaded followers of Attila both in complexion and in manners. Instead of leading a nomadic life, they dwelt in cities, were addicted to commerce and agriculture, observed moderation in warfare, and respected the sanctity of treaties. Even from the earliest centuries of the Christian era, we find the Hephthalites established between the Oxus and the Caspian Sea. Hence the borders of their territory marched upon those of the Persian Empire under the Sassanides. They were defeated and driven back beyond the Oxus, at the commencement of the fifth century, by the

valiant Bahram Gour, mentioned by Ibn Zafer, chap. iv., § v, etc.

In the latter half of that century, war again broke out between the Persians and these barbarians, who were far more civilised than themselves. Yezdjird II., son and successor of Bahram, bequeathed the crown at his death to his second son, Hormuzd, to the exclusion of his first-born, Firûz, called by the Greeks, Πιρόζης, who was unworthy of it. In order to recover it, Firûz requested the aid of Kush-nawaz, king of the Hephthalites, who gave him thirty thousand men; and the Persian prince re-entered his own country with these barbarian allies, by means of whose victories he was enabled to drive his brother from the throne and put him to death. When, however, he had attained to supreme power he began to regard as oppressive the conditions stipulated with Kush-nawaz, namely, to give him his own sister to wife, and, as appears probable, to restore the conquests of his grandfather, Bahram. The first of these he eluded by fraud; the second he annulled with the sword; and, being victorious, he marked out the confines of the territory of the two nations according to his own pleasure, A.D. 464. Ten years later, fresh disputes having arisen, concerning the territory, or rather Firûz not deeming himself sufficiently absolute until he had destroyed his benefactor, he again attacked the latter, with so little provocation, that he was obliged to have

recourse to the hollow pretext of defending the rights of man, by giving out that he was come to liberate the Hephthalites from the oppression of a tyrant.

He advanced into the enemy's country at the head of a large army, the prudent Kush-nawaz retiring before him. Meanwhile a Hephthalite Decius, whose name history has not recorded, but who merited and obtained the surname of Father of his Country, caused himself to be cruelly mutilated in all his limbs, and to be exposed on the path of the hostile army, uttering imprecations against the king who had punished him thus severely for counselling submission to Firûz. His words, of which the truth was thus fearfully attested, obtained ready credence, and offering himself as guide to the Persians, he entangled them amongst desert gorges of the mountains, where their ranks were thinned by hunger and they were surrounded by the forces of Kush-nawaz who summoned them to surrender. Not one of the Persians durst propose this to Firûz ; they therefore had recourse to the Roman ambassador, Eusebius, who was in the camp, and who told the king that he was like a lion taken in a pitfall by a he-goat, but that taken he was, nevertheless. Firûz thereupon accepted the conditions imposed by the conqueror, which were that he should pay a large sum of money, and swear that he would never again make war upon the Hephthalites, or cross the confines of their country ; and what was

of all most trying to him, that he should do homage to Kush-nawaz, that is, prostrate himself before him in act to kiss the ground, which was the mode of salutation used by the lowest class of Persians to their superiors. (See Herodotus, book 1., chap. cxxxiv.) The honour of the crown of Persia was, however, at saved this crisis by a jesuitical device of the Mobedan-Mobed, or chief of the Magi, who contrived that the ceremony should take place precisely at sunrise, and that Firûz should be stationed with his face towards the east. Thus Kush-nawaz took the prostration to himself, the King of Persia salved his conscience by dedicating it to the sun, and both were satisfied. The confines of the two kingdoms were marked by an obelisk, which Tabari represents as being moved with great difficulty by three hundred men and fifty elephants; and which our author represents as being carried off on the back of a single elephant, in order to give occasion for the new trait of fraudulent equivocation which he ascribes to Firûz. This defeat is the first of which Ibn Zafer makes mention, and took place, A.D. 475.

That which he afterwards proceeds to relate, took place, according to the system of chronology adopted by Malcolm, in 484. The account given of it by the Persian, Arabian, Armenian, and Byzantine authors, coincides very closely with that of Ibn Zafer. Tabari makes especial mention of the opposition offered to the enterprise by the Mobedan-Mobed, the interpreter of the sacred

books, who, doubtless, desired to avoid a perilous war, fraught with danger to Persia, and counselled only the passions of the king. According to the Armenian chronicler, Lazarus of Farbe, the *sparapiet*, or high constable of Persia, likewise opposed the war; and the nobles, soldiers, and people united in execrating it. But the impious and rash Firûz was absolute master, and they were compelled to obey. Kush-nawaz again retired before him, until he reached the spot where he designed to give battle, and there had recourse to a stratagem, which was occasionally practised by the Arabs against the Greeks, as recorded amongst the military tactics of the Byzantines, and which in later times we find employed by the Scotch against the English at Bannockburn; namely, he caused a large trench to be dug, leaving spaces here and there, and causing the pitfall to be concealed. Having attracted the enemy to this spot, Kush-nawaz made head against him, offered battle, and before the fight began, sent forward a horseman, bearing on the point of a lance the treaty stipulated between the two kings, and invoking the wrath of Heaven against those who were traitors to their oath. The battle then commenced. The Hephthalites fled at the first onset, and crossed the ditch in safety by the open spaces, while the Persians in pursuing them fell headlong into the pitfall. Their ranks thus thrown into confusion, a horrible slaughter ensued, in which Firûz perished

and the crown of Persia experienced a greater loss, that, namely, of the largest pearl known in the world, which the king wore, according to custom, suspended from his ear. This rapid defeat is not improbable in the case of two armies chiefly composed of cavalry, on one side the light Tartar horsemen, and on the other the Persians, cased in steel. Kush-nawaz took no undue advantage of his success; he merely made use of it to secure a lasting peace, and restored to the successor of Firûz all the prisoners, and amongst them a daughter of the king, whom he had brought with him as if to certain triumph. It seems as if our author must have had access to other and more detailed histories, since he represents Firûz not as slain in the first battle, but as flying with the remnant of his followers, and being afterwards overtaken, and put to death. (See Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, lib. i. c. iii. vi; Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i., chap. vi., p. 126, etc.; Mirkond, in M. de Sacy's *Mém. sur les Antiquités de la Perse*, p. 343, etc.; Le Beau, with notes by St. Martin, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, Book XXII., § xi, and XXXVIII., § xxviii, and the contemporary authorities there quoted; De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, vol. i., part ii., book iv., chap. ii.; Gibbon, chap. xxvi. and xl.

<sup>40</sup> The two words which I have translated "slip," and "shall be humbled," are in the original *zalla* and *dalla* (see note 2 to the Author's preface, about the *instrumental nouns*, *mazillah*, and *madil-*



*lah*, derived from these verbs), making not only a rhyme, but a kind of alliteration which may have been pleasing to the taste of those times. In the first edition, this maxim is preceded by the words, "the author says."

<sup>41</sup> Literally, "rode on his own head." This maxim is prefaced in the first edition with, "the author says."

<sup>42</sup> What I have translated, "a poor man," is in the Arabic, *miskîn*, whence the Italian *meschino*, and the French *mesquin*, which originally referred to the social condition of the individual, as in c. ix. of Dante's *Inferno* :

*E quei che ben connobbe le meschine  
Della regina del eterno pianto.*

The last part of the sentence is from S. A. 536. s.A. 535 says vaguely, "he laid a complaint against the slayer of his brother."

<sup>43</sup> The seven climates of the earth, according to the Persians, were Irân, China, India, and the countries of the Negroes, the Berbers, the Romans, and the Turks, that is, the whole of the world known to them, for they applied the general appellation of Romans to all the inhabitants of the West; that of Turks, to those of Central Asia, etc. (See Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 339).

Bîwarasp is the correct orthography of this name, misspelt in all the MSS. except s A. 536, which errs only in the diacritical points of a single

letter which I have corrected according to Ibn Badrun and Mirkond. Ferdosi says that this name signifies in *Pehlwi*, "ten thousand horses" which was given to the tyrant, because he always had that number of Arab horses in his stables. He is, however, more commonly known in Eastern tradition by the name of Deh-ak, or ten vices; which the Arabs write Dahhâk, or sometimes Zohauk. This Dahhâk, or Bîwarasp, appears to be the mythical impersonation of a dynasty, for he reigned a thousand years, as related by the traditions of Persia. According to them the kingdom of Irân (Persia), was founded by Kaïomurs, "the man of clay;" the first created man, the king of all the earth and ancestor of the Persian dynasty, called the *Paishdadian*, or "of the first law." He endeavoured to soften the barbarism of mankind, and subdued the malignant genii. Hûshûng, his successor, built the earliest cities, wrote the first book, gathered the waters into canals, and discovered and worshipped fire. The third king, Tahamurs, added to this the worship of idols, which were originally the likenesses of men, preserved by filial piety (see *Wisdom of Solomon*, xiv., 11 — 22). The credit of the civilisation of mankind is attributed to Jemshid, the fourth of the dynasty. He dictated laws, divided his subjects into the four classes already mentioned (see note 34), laid the foundation of Persepolis, which is still called "the throne of Jemshid;"

caused roads to be made, metals and wood to be worked, and silk to be spun; and discovered by accident the properties of wine, which he had preserved, believing it to be poison. He was a naturalist, an astronomer, a physician, and the inventor of warm baths; and caused health, peace, and prosperity to reign over the seven climates of the earth, which thus enjoyed the golden age under his government for many centuries, some say three, and some seven; but at length, having attained to somewhat mature years, Jemshid gave himself up to a dissolute life; and being puffed up with pride, desired to be worshipped as a God, thus exciting the malcontentment of his subjects, and the wrath of Heaven, which punished both sovereign and people by raising up Dahhâk, king of the Syrians, who occupied the kingdom by force, and inflicted a cruel death upon Jemshid.

The offspring of an Arab prince and of a maiden of the blood royal of Persia, Dahhâk was enterprising, valiant, and of so fierce a nature that, in the words of the Eastern writers, the simoom of his fury would have transformed mountains into liquid fire, and hailstones into live coals. Humanity is indebted to him for the invention of flagellation, torture, and the scaffold. He conquered the world, and afflicted it a thousand years. Satan, who was his familiar spirit, persuaded him to commit two excesses which are spoken of as differing little in atrocity; namely, to eat animal food, and to put

his own father to death. The devil then obtained Dahhâk's permission to kiss his shoulders ; and behold, a hissing serpent, or a cancer, appeared upon each, which could only be appeased by the brains of human beings, to obtain which two prisoners were daily put to death, until at length the supply was exhausted, the measure of his guilt was filled up, and he was forewarned in a dream of the impending revolution. The astrologers predicted that it would be led by Prince Feridûn, and Dahhâk caused diligent search to be made for him, but failed to secure his prey.

At this juncture a deliverer rose from the lowest ranks of the people. Gawâh, or Kâwâh, a blacksmith of Ispahân, seeing his two sons about to be sacrificed to the tyrant, closed his forge, stirred up the people, displayed his leathern apron as a standard, slew the governor appointed by Dahhâk, seized the arsenal and the treasure, marched through the provinces everywhere dispersing the troops sent forth against him, and advanced with a powerful army to Rai, the same spot where, twenty centuries later, was fought the battle which gave the Caliphate to Mamûn. Before joining battle, Kâwâh proposed the election of a king, and after himself refusing the crown offered to him by the Persian nobles, finally placed it upon the head of Feridûn, a descendant of the Paishdadian dynasty. The tyrant was defeated and taken prisoner, and his skull fractured with

the blacksmith's club. The anniversary of this memorable day continued to be celebrated for some eighteen centuries, that is, as long as the Persian monarchy existed. The blacksmith's apron was adorned with precious stones, and converted into the royal standard of Persia, continuing to serve as such until the fall of the monarchy, when it was taken by the Mussulmans at the battle of Kadesia. (A.D. 636.) This last is an undoubted fact, and Kâwâh is doubtless also an historical personage. Dahhâk is probably the impersonation of the Assyrian dynasty, which extended its conquests in Persia, and it is believed as far as the Valley of the Indus. (Reinaud, *Mém. sur l' Inde*, pp. 55 and 349.) It is needless to interpret the allegorical symbols of the dominations which preceded that of the Assyrians, and in which the progress of social civilisation in Persia is sufficiently obvious. Lastly, it appears probable that the long foreign domination which preceded the revolt of Kâwâh had levelled the differences of caste in Persia beneath the crushing weight of despotism, and thus prepared the way for a new and better order of things, in which the castes were replaced by classes, and which, with the blacksmith's apron for its banner, raised Persia to power and fame at two several periods, under the Kaianian dynasty, destroyed by Alexander, and under the Sassanides, who were expelled in consequence of the impulse given by the genius of Mahomet, some three or four years after the death of the Prophet. This

brief abstract is derived partly from the traditions of the times of the Sassanides preserved by Tabari and other Arab chroniclers, partly from Ferdosi, author of the *Shah-Nameh*, or "Book of the Kings," in which are preserved the *Pehlwi* legends collected by desire of Mahmûd of Ghuznee, at the commencement of the eleventh century, and which is the source whence the modern Persian compilers derive their information. (See Mirkond, *Early Kings of Persia*, translated by Dr. Shea, London, 1832, p. 47, etc. Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i., chap. iii. Ibn Badrun, Arabic original, already quoted, pp. 10 and 11. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, vol. iii., book, x, etc., etc.)

"The First amongst the first," according to s. A. 535. "The Lord, Most High," or supreme d according to s. A. 536.

<sup>45</sup> The words *garur* and *shakk*, "vanity" and "doubt," have double meanings, which suit the turn of our author's sentence, the former signifying also a horse with a white mark upon his forehead, and the latter, a species of doublet of mail.

<sup>46</sup> This maxim, and the two following ones, are in the first edition, prefaced with the words, "the author of the book says."

<sup>47</sup> Literally: "to make profession of (belief in) the Unity." This is the basis of the creed of the Mussulman, who regards Christians as polytheists, and all besides as idolators.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

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<sup>1</sup> The Arabic title of this chapter, *Taasi*, appears to signify, "the virtue of being able to console oneself." It is translated in the Italian version of the present work as *conforto*, which, failing itself to give the full signification of the original, is in its turn imperfectly represented by "fortitude." I have, however, upon consideration, preferred this word to "comfort," "consolation," &c., both as being more in accordance with the heads of the other chapters—all of which express a good quality to be exercised, not a benefit to be received—and as approaching more nearly to the sense of the Arabic, inasmuch, as by fortitude, a man *supports himself* under affliction, whereas for comfort or consolation he must look to others. In another part of the chapter the author inserts a complicated etymological disquisition upon the word *Taasi* (very judiciously suppressed in the Italian version, as being tedious, and incomprehensible in any other language than the original), in which Ibn Zafer appears to find concentrated in that one

word the sentiment breathed throughout the whole of the chapter:—"I am indeed unhappy, but why should I complain, since there are others more wretched than myself"—*Engl. Trans.*

<sup>2</sup> Chapter xxxiii. of the Koran is entitled, "The Confederates," from a confederation entered into by several tribes who united to besiege the Prophet in Medina, in the year 5 of the Hejira (A.D. 626).

<sup>3</sup> This word is the same in the original as that which forms the title of the chapter.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xxxiii., vv. 10, 11. I have here corrected a manifest error in the MS., by which the sentence "and to the instability," &c., was placed after v. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Yathreb was the ancient name of Medina, afterwards called *Medina-en-Nabi*, or "the City of the Prophet."

<sup>6</sup> I have here suppressed a long dissertation upon the word *Taasi*, which heads the chapter. S. A. 536, differs a little from the other MSS. in this passage.

<sup>7</sup> I follow the reading of S. A. 536, which is plainer than the rest; but this lengthy commentary throws little light upon the words of Mahomet, which have all the clearness and conciseness appertaining to superiority of intellect.

<sup>8</sup> We find a similar argument used in chap. v., § xiii. I have adhered to S. A. 536, but the sense is the same in the other MSS., and is



perfectly consonant with the doctrines of Islam, according to which the succours afforded by the rich to the poor are an act of simple justice, forming part of the system of brotherhood and strict equality laid down by the Prophet, and to which he was indebted for the marvellous successes he achieved.

° I can obtain no information concerning the princely author of these indifferent verses.

<sup>10</sup> We find the second and fourth of these verses in *Hariri*, Arabic text, edition of M. de Sacy, p. 448.

Tomadhir, surnamed El Khansâ, or the “Antelope,” on account of her beauty, was born of a noble house of the tribe of Solaim, in Nedjid, the highlands of Central Arabia and the Arcadia of the Arabs, and lived in the time of Mahomet. Several fragments of her poetry, distinguished for its beauty and tenderness, have been preserved to us, almost all of which have been extracted from her elegies on the death of her brother, Sakhr, likewise a poet and warrior, and devotedly attached to his family, who died a lingering death in consequence of a wound received in combat to avenge the death of a brother. The episodes of this drama are amongst the most pathetic recorded of that chivalrous age of valour, poetry, and courtesy which closed with the preaching of Mahomet. The first scene is laid at the fair of Ocâz, to which Amr Ibn Sharid, the father

of El Khansâ, in the pride of his heart, conducted his two young sons, destined to succeed him in the command of his tribe. Here, at this annual gathering of the Arabs, at once a commercial and poetical assemblage, subsequently appeared the youthful poetess who boldly aspired to carry off the palm from all the most celebrated poets of Arabia. Here, likewise, was first kindled the hostility of the Beni Ghatafan, which afterwards cost the lives of both her brothers. El Khansâ, who had married a noble of her own tribe, soon after their death was deprived of her husband also; and being thus left a widow while still in the bloom of youth, a Marino Faliero of those days fell in love with her and sought her in marriage; but the poetess would not listen to him, and when her father proposed him to her as her husband, she replied: "Why should I renounce the prospect of marrying some one of my cousins, who are young and handsome, in order to give myself to this man who, to-day or to-morrow, will become an owl?" For the heathen Arabs believed the souls of the dead to enter into the bodies of owls. Another reason for El Khansâ's refusal is however given by the indiscreet Arab commentators, and unwillingly recorded by M. Caussin de Perceval. Many years after, when Mahomet at the head of his victorious forces, was preparing to attack Mecca (A.D. 630), a thousand men of the tribe of Solaïm marched

under his banners, commanded by Abbas, Son of El Khansâ, who herself followed the host, made profession of the faith of Islam, composed some verses in praise of the Prophet, and was held in high honour by him. Lastly, El Khansâ, still accompanying her son, was with him at the battle of Kadesia (A.D. 636), in which the empire of Persia was overthrown. For the details of the narrative, of which I have here given the outline, see Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l' Histoire des Arabes*, vol. ii. pp. 511-2, and 547—563, and vol. iii., p. 217. See also De Sacy, *Chrestomathis Arabe*, vol. ii. p. 413; and the *Hamasa* (Hamasæ Carmina, etc., Fretag's edition, Bonn, 1828, Arabic text, p. 488), containing a poem by Sakhr, of lamentation for his brother, who was slain, and afterwards avenged by him at the cost of his own life.

<sup>11</sup> I do not find the name of this poet in any biographical work.

<sup>12</sup> Sapor, or more correctly Shahpûr II., son of Horsmidas or Hormuz II., reigned as long as he lived, and even a few months longer; for, on the death of Hormuz, which occurred A.D. 307 or 309, Persia was threatened with all the evils of a disputed succession, when one of the wives of the king was discovered to be with child, and it was taken for granted that she would give birth to a son. The Mobedan-Mobed, or chief priest of the Magi, who took an important part in the business

of the state, thereupon performed the singular ceremony of crowning the yet unborn infant as monarch of Persia. This precocious despot, who had been hailed as king even before he beheld the light, at five years old caused a bridge to be thrown across the Tigris for the exclusive convenience of the members of his household, between Ctesiphon and the suburb of Coche, which were hence called by the Orientals, Madain or the Cities; at seven he could ride; at eight he assumed the reins of government; and at sixteen he had already merited the ill-omened surname of Du-'l Aktâf, "the lord of shoulders," or, we should rather say, "breaker of backs;" he acquired it in his expedition against the Arabs, who, in his childhood, infested Persia and Mesopotamia, and whom he drove back beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, and afterwards embarking on the Persian gulf, carried the war into their own country, defeated them in several encounters, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, caused their shoulder-blades to be perforated, or, as others state with greater probability, to be fractured; and all the splendour of his subsequent victories over the Romans and Barbarians could not suffice to wipe out the stigma thus cast upon his name.

Subsequently to these events, which, taken *cum grano salis*, are not improbable, we find in the Persian chronicles the whole fabulous narrative of Ibn Zafer. According to them, Sapor, leaving

the peninsula of Arabia, hastened to Syria and Mesopotamia, to make war upon the Romans. Leaving his army in a strong position, he disguised himself as a merchant, in order with his own eyes to spy out the capital or the camp of the enemy; being there invited to a banquet, he was recognised by an officer, from his likeness pourtrayed on the goblets of gold and silver; on being interrogated, he feigned himself a fugitive from the court of Sapor, but was arrested, and wrapped in the hide of a bull, which stiffened upon him, and led, with a horse-cloth over his shoulders, in the midst of the Roman cavalry, which was advancing with the Emperor to the invasion of Persia. Then followed the spoiling of the country, the siege of the fortress of Jundi-Shahpûr, into which the nobles of Persia had retired, and the escape of Sapor, who succeeded in eluding his keepers when intoxicated at a festival, and commanded some Persian prisoners to sever his chains and to soften with hot oil the hide in which he was confined. He then took refuge in the fortress, led a sortie, and the rest tallies with the account of Ibn Zafer, not omitting the compensation furnished in olive-trees from the Roman empire, for the palm-trees destroyed in Persia. For this narrative see Mirkond, (De Sacy, *Mém. sur les Antiq. de la Perse*, p. 306, *seqq.*) It is also mentioned by Malcolm in his *History of Persia*, (vol. i., pp. 107-8). Ibn Badrun (Arabic text,

pp. 32-36), relates the facts with the variation that, according to him, Sapor effected his escape from the Roman camp before Nishapour, and that the condition, that an olive-tree should be planted for every palm-tree cut down by the Romans, was stipulated in order to compensate for the damage inflicted upon the province of Irâk, into which the culture of the olive was thus for the first time introduced. In proof of this he alleges seven verses in Arabic (translations no doubt) by one of the ancient poets of Persia, whose name he does not give. Ibn 'Badrun, who wrote a few years after Ibn Zafer, agrees with the aforesaid Persian compilers in stating Sapor to have lived and reigned seventy-two years. He says that he caused the shoulder-blades of the Arab prisoners to be dislocated, and thus obtained his surname.

Hamza of Ispahan (Arabic text, published by Doctor Gottwald, Petersburg, 1844, p. 52), takes scarcely any notice of the imprisonment of Sapor, who he says was captured in a church by the Romans.

In the annals of Entychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, we find a long account of the adventures of Sapor, which he evidently desired to correct by collation with the Roman History; but having fallen into an error of chronology, he has only enveloped the question in still greater darkness. He represents Sapor as having been dissuaded by his friends from exposing himself to so great a dan-

ger, but as obstinately persisting in his purpose, and being recognised at a banquet given by the son of the Emperor Maximian, by a learned Roman astrologer and physiognomist, through the medium of his portrait depicted upon a goblet; imprisoned in a cow's hide; and taken by Maximian-Galerius to the siege of Jundi-Shahpûr, where he effected his escape on the night of a festival, by the aid of some Persian prisoners; crawled forth from the camp on his hands and knees, and having entered the city, commanded the garrison to make a sortie at the sound of the bells. Eutychius, who had the Roman History in his hands, does not fall into the error of stating Galerius to have been made prisoner, but he represents him as living during the youth of Sapor; whereas he died two or four years before the birth of the King of Persia. (Vol. ii., pp. 412 to 421.)

The author of the Persian compilation, *Mojmel-el-tewarikh*, says little concerning the journey and captivity of Sapor, but notes that the fortifications of Jundi-Shahpûr had been repaired by Roman prisoners, and that the city was destroyed in his time. (See Mohl's translation *Journ. Asiat.*, 3me serie, vol. xii., pp. 511-12.)

If we compare the various narratives here enumerated, it will be easily perceived that they were all derived from the same Persian source, and that Ibn Zafer has reproduced the primitive tradition, with merely the addition of the never-failing sage,

the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Metropolitan ; strange company for the Emperor Julian, to whom the principal part in this fable must be assigned. Moreover, our author omits some of the most manifestly improbable features of the Persian narrative.

On the other hand, the records of Roman history at that period are distinct and positive, and exhibit the wars between the Empire and Sapor II. in a totally different light. A century before his time the ancient struggle between the Romans and the Parthians had been renewed by Ardshir, the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanides. Sapor I., his successor, occupied Armenia, scoured Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia ; and after inflicting many reverses upon the Romans, compelled their army, commanded by the Emperor Valerian, to lay down its arms under the walls of Edessa (A.D. 260). It is well known that Valerian remained a prisoner in the hands of Sapor until his death ; and it is even said that the victor inflicted upon him the indignity of using him as a horse-block to mount his horse ; and that at his death he caused the emperor's skin to be stuffed with straw and hung up in triumph. Afterwards, however, when Diocletian was emperor, and Narsi, the grandfather of Sapor II., King of Persia, the disgrace of the Roman arms was avenged (A.D. 297) by the Cæsar Galerius, who defeated Narsi with great slaughter, took captive



his whole family, and dictated conditions of peace to Persia, by which Mesopotamia to the west of Khabur, and five provinces eastward of the Tigris, were ceded to the Roman empire, and the kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia, allies or tributaries of Rome, restored. For forty years Persia endured this ignoble peace, which was broken A.D. 338, by Sapor II., not indeed, as the Persian chroniclers say, at the age of seventeen, but in the prime of youth. Both the religion and the seat of the Roman empire had been changed in the interval, and the apparently inevitable civil war with which it was menaced on the death of Constantine, afforded Sapor an opportunity of recovering the territories lost by his ancestor. In the wars against the Arabs and northern barbarians, Sapor had already acquired great military experience, and had restored and augmented the armies of Persia, which he proved in the struggle maintained by him for many years, with varying success, against Constantius. He gained over the emperor in person the battle of Sinjar in Mesopotamia, but at the cost of the lives of thousands of his subjects, and of his own son Sapor, who fell into the hands of the Romans, and was slaughtered on the retreat, A.D. 346. The attacks of the Hephthalites afterwards compelled Sapor to suspend the war against the Romans, but he resumed it in 360, when he had to encounter the whole weight of the forces of the

empire, under the command of the Emperor Julian in person, who passed the Khabur which formed the southern boundary of the Persian territory at the head of 65,000 veteran soldiers, and an immense supply of munitions of war, at the same time sending 30,000 more into Upper Mesopotamia to unite with the Armenian forces, and with them to surprise Ctesiphon, one of the capitals of the kingdom of Persia, while he himself attacked it openly. The religious scruples and political jealousy of the King of Armenia, however, caused the failure of this important part of the enterprise. Julian, with the main body of his forces, advanced in triumph as far as the Tigris, crossed it before the eyes of the army of Sapor; and then, instead of laying siege to Ctesiphon, followed the counsels of a traitor, burnt his flotilla on the Tigris, and, with this deep and rapid river in his rear, Ctesiphon on his flank, and Sapor in his front, he rashly advanced into the heart of Persia, leading on his army from victory to victory to meet its final destruction, even as in later times Napoleon did in Russia; for the Persians, like the Russians, burned and spoiled the country before the enemy, and ere he could storm either of the other capitals, Ecbatana or Susa, the want of provisions compelled him to retreat through a desolate country, and surrounded by hostile Persians daily increasing in numbers. Sapor thus achieved success by temporising, and Julian died on the

retreat of a wound he had received. The army thereupon conferred the purple upon Jovian, who was compelled to sign a humiliating treaty, by which he restored to Persia the five provinces beyond the Tigris and the principal fortresses of Mesopotamia, and surrendered Armenia to the ambition of Sapor. Thus ended the campaign in July, 365, four months after the passage of the Khabur by Julian. Sapor subsequently reduced Armenia to the rank of a province of Persia; and died a few years later in 380, when about to undertake a third campaign against the Romans.

Hence we perceive that the expedition of Julian forms the web upon which the Persians have woven their romance concerning the adventures of Sapor II., to which they have appended the capture of Valerian, which occurred a hundred years before, in the time of Sapor I., as well as the rebuilding of Jundi-Shahpûr, by the Roman prisoners taken in the various wars, in which they experienced the inconstancy of fortune. This last appears, however, to be an undoubted fact, being confirmed by the quoted statement in the *Mojmel-el-tewarikh*; which, moreover, gives the name of a Greek or Roman engineer, employed by Sapor. It appears that the Persians had long been accustomed to profit by the facilities afforded them by the fortunes of war, for the improvement of their military works, since Malcolm informs us (vol. i., p. 254) that Sapor I. caused his Roman

captives to work at the construction of Shuster, and also, as we may suppose, at that of Jundi-Shahpûr, in the neighbourhood of which are some rude pieces of historical sculpture carved in relief on the living rock, and of which Malcolm gives an engraving in which the king of Persia is represented in the midst of his host, in the act of holding a Roman prisoner, and of giving audience to some ambassadors. Up to this point it is easy to conceive that the acts of the two Sapers might have been confounded by tradition, and those of the first attributed to the second. The marvel is, the substitution of the legend concerning the imprisonment and liberation of Sapor II., for the wars of Du'l-Aktaf, which is like inserting the adventures of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table into the history of England. But such are all the Persian records up to the close of the dynasty of the Sassanides; records conveyed to us at second or third hand, the fragments saved from the general destruction of Persian literature at the period of the Arabic conquest.

<sup>13</sup> The Galicia here mentioned, is the Spanish province. The Arabs, even as late as the days of Abulfeda, frequently designated as Gallicians all the Christians of Spain, who were independent of the Mussulman yoke. Latin was at that time the language of the educated classes in Spain as well as in France, and would have been understood at

Constantinople where it was not yet fallen into disuse.

<sup>14</sup> According to s.A., 536, many persons had experienced the marvellous virtue of this balsam ; which, however, they state to be Indian and not Chinese.

<sup>15</sup> *Kaisar* is the Arabic corruption of *Cæsar* ; like the almost identical Kaiser of the Germans, and the Czar of the Russians. I do not translate it, because at that period of the Empire, Cæsar was the title of a secondary dignity, not of the emperor as here intended.

<sup>16</sup> I submit to the opinion of M. Reinaud, who, guided by the meaning of the root, interprets the word *Mohakkam*, or *Mohakkim*, as “solid, strong.” I should have myself supposed it to mean *coloured glass*.

<sup>17</sup> The word which I have here translated, “that which is to come,” signifies at once “occult” and “future.”

<sup>18</sup> The author here makes use of the expression, “the black spot of the heart ;” viz. : the centre, the most vital part, the core.

<sup>19</sup> It is the custom in the East, not only to train dogs and falcons to the chase, but also leopards, who are of course exposed to be occasionally pursued in their turn by lions or tigers. Some travellers mention a breed of lions without a mane as being trained to the chase in Persia, as well as tigers, panthers, and leopards.—See Malte Brun, *Geographie Universelle*, book CXXVII.

<sup>20</sup> S.A., 536, here inserts a saying, which is somewhat contradictory to the preceding one. "It was said, kings should seek counsel, in order to have various opinions laid before them; not that they are obliged blindly to follow the advice of their viziers."

The explanation of this axiom, which it is needless to insert, concludes that "the king has the quicker intellect, although the vizier may be the more learned of the two. And thus Raschid (the Caliph) said to Asmai: 'Thou art more learned than we; but we are more clear-sighted than thou.' And, indeed, the reverse of clear-sightedness is not ignorance, but stupidity; and a man of lofty intellect is often ignorant of many sciences. The Prince of geniuses, Mahomet, said: 'You are more learned than I in that which concerns your own interests, and I am more so than you in that which concerns your religion.' And even the lapwing was able to say to Solomon: 'I have viewed that which thou hast not viewed.'" — (*Koran*, chap. xxvii. v. 22).

<sup>21</sup> Jundi-Shahpûr, a city which is now destroyed, was built by Sapor I., in the ancient province of Susiana, now Khusistan. Edrizi (M. Jaubert's French translation, vol. i., 383), states it to have been a commercial and strongly fortified city, situated in the midst of a cultivated champaign country, at the distance of a day's journey from

the city of Susa, or Shus, and but little more from Shuster. Major Rawlinson believes himself to have discovered its site, between Shuster and the ancient Susa, where now stands the village of *Shahabad*, in the neighbourhood of which are the foundations of some ancient edifices.—(*Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. .ix, p. 72). It had also another name, *Beh-an-endiû-Shahpûr*, or, “The Better-than-Antioch, Sapor;” suggesting that it might have been built in imitation of Antioch. Sapor appears to have compelled the Roman captives to labour at its construction, for an ancient Persian author observes, that its walls were composed partly of bricks, dried in the sun, and partly of baked bricks, which last we know to have been the custom of the Romans, while the Orientals had, from time immemorial, made use of unbaked clay.—(See *Mojme-el-Tewarikh*, by Mohl, *Journal Asiatique*, third series, pp. 506, 507.)

Mirkond asserts (Sacy, p. 312) that the Persian nobles fortified themselves in Jundi-Shahpûr at the time of the Roman invasion under Sapor II. The *Mojmel* (chap. i. p. 512) says that he made it for thirty years the seat of the monarchy; Hamza of Ispahan (Arabic text, Petersburg, 1844, p. 52), states that Sapor passed there the first thirty years of his life, restored the city after the war against the Romans, with hewn stone and mortar, and at the same period transferred the seat of his

government to Madain; and Ibn Badrun (p. 31) that Jundi-Shahpûr was the residence of the Sassanides until the time of Narsi, son of Bahram III. and grandfather of Sapor II., that is, until about A.D. 300. Lastly, we know that in the eighth century after the Christian era it was the seat of an academy of medicine, frequented by Nestorian and Indian professors, and in which literature and philosophy were subsequently cultivated likewise. (Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 309; and Assemamu, *Bibl. Orient*, vol. iv. p. 755, 6, 7.) Jundi-Shahpûr seems to have been one of the chief cities of Persia up to the time of the invasion of the Arabs, since the Moslem chronicles specify the period of its occupation in the year 17 of the Hegira, A.D. 638. (See Ibn el Athir, Paris MS., Constantinople copy, vol. ii. fol. 120 verso.) This evidence, taken in conjunction with that of the most trustworthy of the western authors, shows that we must restrict within certain limits the title of capital of Persia so unconditionally bestowed by our author upon Jundi-Shahpûr. It was one of its mightiest cities, served occasionally as a residence or a place of refuge to the kings of Persia, and although not the habitual seat of government, may be regarded as one of its numerous capitals. Of all existing empires, Persia and China are the only two which still exist upon the self-same spot occupied by them from the most remote and even fabulous



ages. The limits of that of Persia have been at times extended, and at others contracted, but it has almost always retained the same centre. No other state ever had so many capitals at the same time, nor changed them so often. Not to speak of its two modern ones, Ispahan and Teheran, one of which is already fallen into disuse; and the ancient Persepolis, which yet was assuredly not the first; in the time of the Sassanides, Ecbatana, now Hamadan, and Susa, still held their rank as capitals: but the ordinary and more splendid residence of the sovereigns was Ctesiphon, or Madain, on the Tigris, a city which had sprung up in the time of the Arsacides, in the neighbourhood of the Greek capital Selencia, on the spot where those princes were wont to encamp with their whole court during the winter. Such frequent changes were not unnatural in a country a part of the population of which is of nomadic habits, even to this day; where the variations of temperature, from winter in the mountainous regions, to summer in the sandy deserts, are so excessive; and where the government, having been from the earliest times, one of those Oriental despotisms, of which the powers are all concentrated in the court, and having no such incumbences as parliaments, archives, magistrates, etc., was easily transferable from place to place. The sovereign mounted his horse, followed in ancient times by the magi, and afterwards by the

ulemas in the numbers requisite for a council but not for a parliament, a few viziers, heads of the police and of the executive ; and this portable machinery was set in motion whithersoever the monarch was pleased to direct.

END OF VOL. I.

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